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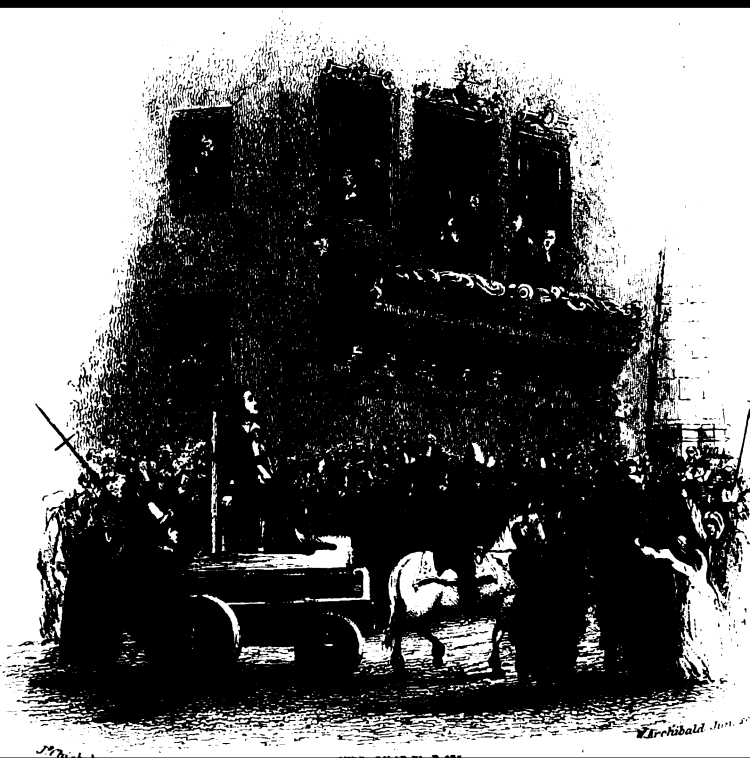
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*History of the rebellions in
Scotland under Montrose, ...*



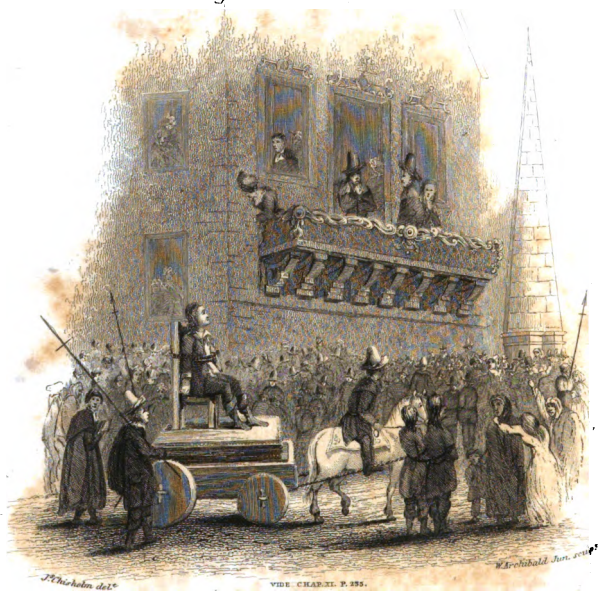
John Harbord.



John Harbord

1888

HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLIONS IN SCOTLAND.



J. Richelieu del.

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Archibald Jun. sculp.

HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLIONS IN SCOTLAND,
UNDER
MONTROSE, DUNDEE, MAR, AND
PRINCE CHARLES STUART.

BY ROBERT CHAMBERS,
AUTHOR OF "TRADITIONS OF EDINBURGH," &c.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

A NEW EDITION.

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HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLIONS IN SCOTLAND,
FROM
1638 TILL 1660.

VOL. II.

A

HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLIONS IN SCOTLAND,
FROM
1638 TILL 1660.

CHAPTER I.

**RAVAGE OF ARGYLE, AND BATTLE OF
INVERLOCHY**

The war-tune of Donald the Black,
The war-tune of Donald !
The pipes and the banner
Are up in the rendezvous at Inverlochy !
Translation of a Gaelic Poem.

THOUGH Montrose had not yet by any means accomplished the object of his expedition to Scotland, and although the Estates found it still possible to check him with little more than the militia of the country, his victories had nevertheless, by proving them to be not infallible, wrought a considerable change in the aspect of their affairs. "Many," says Guthry, "who had formerly been violent in the popular cause, now began to talk moderately;" impressed, it would appear, with a

respect for the loyal party which they had never before entertained. That loyal party, on the other hand, now found themselves at liberty to speak their sentiments with boldness, regarding the illegality and danger of the late movements of the Covenantee government, especially their unhallowed league with the English insurgents against a sovereign who had treated at least *them* with kindness and liberality. There were many neutral persons, moreover, who, having formerly submitted to the Estates purely because they conceived their power irresistible, now thought fit to incline towards the party whose prospects had lately received so unexpected a brightening.

While Argyle was making merit with his constituents at Edinburgh for having terminated the campaign of 1644 "without bloodshed," and while all unconcerned persons were laughing at so unsoldierly a virtue, Montrose was preparing in the centre of the Highlands for an enterprise still more daring and terrible than any he had yet undertaken. Being joined, in his retreat through that wild region, by a great portion of the clan Donald, by a portion of the Camerons, and by the Stewarts of Appin, whom his faithful friend Colkittoch had succeeded in raising for his service, he called a council of war to determine what quarters it would be advisable for the army to assume for the winter.¹ He himself proposed the low country as the only place where he conceived it would be possible to procure either quarters or provisions; others thought the Highlands more eligible on account of their comparative security. A third party suggested that no place could be better than the country of their common enemy Argyle. This last suggestion met the approbation of all present: the Irish ap-

proved of it as enabling them to avenge the ravages which a body of Campbells, as part of the Scottish Protestant army there established, had for years been exercising upon their own lands at home; the Highlanders delighted in it as tending to gratify their own justifiable feelings of revenge against an imperious and grasping clan; and, for Montrose, he rejoiced in the prospect of thus at once depressing his own personal enemy, and unfitting him for ever after thwarting, as he had already so often done, by his enormous territorial power, the policy of his royal master. It only remained to be inquired if Argyle's country, peninsulated as it was by the sea, and so remote from all other cultivated lands, would support an army during the winter. Montrose, to ascertain this point, called to the council Angus Macdonald, son of Allan Dhu Macdonald, of the sept of Glencoe, who, of all his men, was best acquainted with the district. Angus, being asked if there was abundance of food and lodging in Argyle, answered that, although "there was not a town nor half a town in all the country, yet there were plenty of houses to live in, and plenty of fat cattle to feed upon;" an answer which so completely satisfied Montrose, that he instantly gave orders for a march towards the devoted land in question.

His army approached Argyle in two divisions. One, consisting chiefly of the Lochaber and Knoydart people, went, with John Muidartach, the captain of the Clanranald, by the head of Argyle. The other marched, under his own command, through Breadalbane, along the brink of Loch Tay, and through Glen Dochart, in a more latitudinal direction. The country on both tracts belonging, if not to Argyle himself, at least to his kinsmen

and adherents, was unsparingly destroyed. As Montrose's own party marched through Breadalbane, it was joined by the clans of Macgregor and Macnab.²

When Argyle heard at Edinburgh of these movements and proceedings of the royal army, he hastened home to his own country, and exerted himself to raise his clan, apparently for the purpose of checking Montrose's progress. It does not appear that he apprehended the possibility of that general's breaking in upon his own country, the passes to which were so difficult and at the same time so important, that he had been heard to declare he would not have them known by any other than a friend for an hundred thousand crowns.³ He therefore took no measures for repelling the invasion which Montrose was meditating, but on the contrary lay secure in his own fancied inaccessibility, at Inverary, with his levies going on deliberately around him, when intelligence suddenly arrived, that the enemy was within two miles of his residence. He instantly took boat upon Loch Fyne, and, without waiting to concert any measures for the defence of the country, set sail for the Lowlands, leaving his numerous clan uncommanded, and their whole property exposed to the licence of the spoilers. Montrose took full advantage of the unprotected state of the country: he burnt every house, except the impregnable castles; slew, drove off, ate up, or otherwise destroyed, every four-footed beast; and utterly spoiled every thing in the shape of grain, goods, and furniture. The writer of the Red Book of Clanranald mentions, as a dreadful addition to the gross amount of ravage, that the party which went under the conduct of John Muidartach, and which

penetrated the length of Kilmartin in Glasry, slew eight hundred and ninety-five persons, without battle or skirmish; but, as no other historian has taken the least notice of such a circumstance,⁴ it is probably untrue. Whether or not there was any massacre, the unfortunate inhabitants certainly suffered severely enough to expiate the political faults of their superior; for the ravages of the royal army were extended through almost every peninsular limb of this vast district, and continued for no less a space than six weeks, namely from the 13th of December 1644 to the 28th or 29th of January 1645.

On making his escape from Inverary, the Marquis of Argyle went to Dumbarton, where he met a party of regular troops, which the Estates had recalled from England, for the suppression of the royalists, and which they now dispatched for his immediate assistance, under Major-general Baillie, one of their second-rate commanders. Intelligence soon after arriving that Montrose was quitting the country by its northern extremity, a plan was concerted by Argyle and Baillie, that while the former should raise his clan and follow him at a certain distance, the latter should lead his regular forces round the eastern extremity of the Highlands, and, coming up in his front, either overthrow him utterly, or at least drive him back in disorder for complete destruction by the advancing legions of Argyle. To give the greater efficacy to the clan army, Campbell of Auchinbreck, the cousin of the chief, and an experienced soldier, was called over from his duty in Ireland, to take a high command and principal direction in its tumultuary and irresolute bands; and Baillie, by consent of the Committee of Estates, granted for its assistance eleven

hundred of his own disciplined soldiers.⁵ The scheme was good, and might have been attended with the desired success in other circumstances ; but, as these circumstances stood, it only yielded the superior genius of Montrose opportunity to inflict another and still severer blow upon the retainers of his enemy.

Montrose was, about the last day of January, marching through Abertarf in the great glen of Albin, with the intention of attacking an army of northern Highlanders which he understood to have been collected in garrison at Inverness by the Earl of Seaforth,⁶ when he was overtaken by a breathless and way-worn Highlander, who surprised him with the intelligence that Argyle was following him through Lochaber, and had already begun to retaliate upon that district the flames and spoliation with which he had so recently visited the country of the Campbells. According to his usual custom, he had totally overlooked the possibility of such a circumstance ; and he was now so much surprised at hearing of the advance of Argyle, that he refused at first to believe the fact. The Highlander who brought him the intelligence—by tradition reported to have been the celebrated bard of the Keppoch family, Ian Lom,⁷ but stated by Guthry to have been one “ Allan MacIldowie of Lochaber,”—asseverated its truth with such warmth and apparent sincerity of expression, that the astonished general at last saw fit to act upon it. Yet such was his continued incredulity, that, while he gave orders for a march back to Lochaber, he caused the messenger to be detained a prisoner, and told him that the ropes were spun which should hang him, in case of his information proving false. The man answered, with the spirit of a partizan, that, if a

particular tower, which he named, and which was the last he had passed in a state of conflagration, should not be found destroyed on their return, he would no longer desire life.

The movement which Montrose determined upon in this emergency, was, both in its conception and execution, perhaps the most remarkable he ever performed. His army was much diminished; the greater part of the Highlanders having gone home to deposit the spoils of Argyle. He scarcely mustered one half of the forces which report gave to his enemy. He was also aware that the man he had to oppose must be animated against him with all the feelings of the bitterest hatred and revenge. Yet, as he supposed it likely that Argyle had not resolved upon directly fighting him, but rather followed for the purpose of simply driving him forward to destruction at Inverness, he judged that, even with his inadequate forces, his best course would be to fall back upon him and endeavour to surprise his troops, a victory over whom at this crisis might cause the northern army to disperse of its own accord, while the eclat of such a triumph would probably encourage the loyal clans, thereby for ever relieved from the terror of Argyle, to join him in even greater numbers than hitherto. A thousand dangers and distresses were involved in the project; but these, together with the romantic character of the exploit, and the prospect which it presented of giving another blow to the hated Argyle, seem to have only recommended it with greater force to the enterprising genius of Montrose.

It is known to almost every body who has ever been in the Highlands of Scotland, that the distance between Kilcummin,⁸ in Abertarf, where

Montrose received his intelligence, and Inverlochy, in Lochaber, where he understood that Argyle had taken up his quarters, is about thirty miles, and that the way lies along that wonderful natural chasm, or furrow of the country, which the natives term the Great Glen of Albin, and which has latterly formed the bed of the Caledonian Canal. Along this tract, although it was not then provided with the smooth military road which now renders it so convenient, Montrose had just come, on his way to the north; and he could easily have retraced his steps by the same route. There was, however, a reason for his not doing so. That way, he felt assured, must now be so completely possessed and watched by Argyle's scouts, that it would be totally impossible for him to make by it the insidious approach to Inverlochy, upon which he mainly calculated for the means of victory. It was necessary to adopt some more circuitous, some less obvious, some altogether unsuspected and unguarded path. Here lay the great difficulty of the enterprise. In a country so mountainous as the Highlands, the reader must be aware that there are not many tracts of ground calculated for the formation of roads; he is also aware, that, if there are at this day few roads to choose among in this wild region, there were still fewer at the time under review. To increase the difficulty, the few paths which the natives used amongst the hills, and which then formed the only roads, were now, by the nature of the season, obscured and obstructed by deep snow. Altogether, it seemed totally impossible that Montrose should advance upon Inverlochy by any other path than the peculiarly low and easy one which he had just traversed in a contrary direction.

"*Contra audentior ito*," however, had all along been the heart-motto of Montrose: he resolved at all hazards to assume a path of the nature described. Having first taken pains to acquaint himself with the route, and having sounded the resolution and ability of his men to endure the march, he gave orders that they should strike off to the south, up a narrow glen formed by the little river Tarf; that they should then climb over the hills of Lairie Thurd, and descend upon the wild vale at the head of the Spey; then, traversing Glenroy, that they should pass another mountainous tract; after which they would fall in upon the river Spean; and so along the skirts of Ben Nevis to Inverlochy. The tracks he pointed out, had hitherto been traversed almost exclusively by the wild deer, or by the scarcely less wild adventurers who hunted them. The heights which it skirted or overpassed, were as desert and lonely as the peaks of primeval chaos. The vast convulsed face of the country was as white and still as death, or only darkened in narrow black streaks by the irregular and far-extending lines of the marching soldiery. It must have been a scene of the greatest sublimity, to see these lonely human beings, so diminutive as compared to the wildernesses around them, hurrying and struggling on through hill and vale, and bank and pass; their arms either glancing fitfully and flickeringly under the low winter sun, or their persons obscured to a visionary and uncertain semblance by the snow-storm or the twilight; and all the while, the bloody purpose which animated them, and which gleamed in every face and eye, contrasting so strangely, in its transitory and unimportant nature, with the majestic and eternal solemnity of the mighty scene around them.

A night, a day, and a portion of the ensuing evening, sufficed to bring this indefatigable host to the mouth of Glennevis, the flank-point from which Montrose had calculated upon making his unexpected attack on Argyle. As he had taken care to prevent all intelligence of his return from reaching the enemy by the open road, and had killed or taken all suspicious persons whom he encountered in his march, he might be said to have completely accomplished his purpose; so that, could he now have made the onset, it would have been, in all probability, decisive on the instant, and without a contest. His men, however, were fatigued to such a degree, so much scattered, and so weak from want of sleep and food, that he abandoned the idea of a night attack, and thought it more prudent to spend the intermediate time till morning in refreshing and concentrating his forces.

Before the morning dawned, the Campbells, who lay on the spacious plain below, became aware of the presence and supervision of a hostile force, though that it was headed by Montrose, was a supposition which never entered their minds. Under the impression that it was only a party of the natives which had assembled to protect the country from their ravages, they lay secure in their bivouack, or only skirmished by the clear moonlight with the advanced guards and outposts which happened to approach them. A considerable part of their army happened to lie upon the other side of the deep and rapid Lochy, or of the arm of the sea into which it fell;⁹ and such was the security of Argyle, that he did not take pains to have that segregated portion of his force united with the other. It was not till the moment the sun rose, when a shrill flourish of trumpets issued upon their

cars from the dusky glen of the Nevis, that they learned the real importance of the impending host, and that it was commanded by the terrible Montrose.¹⁰

It was, therefore, with no small alarm and surprise, that the devoted Campbells at last arose and arranged themselves for battle. To disconcert them still more, their leader and chief, pleading a hurt in his arm and face, which he had recently got by a casual fall, and which disabled him for the use of sword and pistol, retired on board his galley, which lay moored on the narrow frith behind them,¹¹ proposing from thence to survey their conflict with the enemy, while his cousin, the soldierly Auchinbreck, should become his substitute in immediate command. The Highlanders have a tradition, that at this moment, either from real fear, or with an insidious design to procure time for concentrating their forces and taking advantages of ground, the Campbells dispatched a white flag with a messenger, to request from the enemy half an hour to consider terms of surrender. And it is added, that Montrose had unthinkingly granted the request, and was quietly awaiting the result of their deliberations, when a quick-sighted Highland gentleman, perceiving certain motions amongst them which convinced him of the duplicity of their proposal, exclaimed, "What! does my lord marquis mean to let slip the opportunity he has gained of attacking these men to advantage?" and proposed to his companions that, without regard to Montrose, who seemed either to be disposed to betray them, or to have lost his accustomed penetration, they should immediately make the onset, while it was yet possible to do so with a chance of success. According to the same tradition, Montrose instant-

ly called out to know, "Who was the daring rascal that had thus endeavoured to subvert the discipline of the army?" But, before an answer could be returned, Deors MacAlaster, for such was his ordinary name, had broke away, along with a great portion of the Highlanders, and was proceeding to active conflict with the enemy. Alaster MacCol, the major-general, only took time to say, in answer to the marquis's question, "He is a most brave man, my lord; and, by God, I will rather act with him than with thee!" before he also broke off from his position, and with his men proceeded to charge the Campbells. Being thus deserted by the greater part of his troops, and seeing perhaps that the fortune of the day would now depend upon a vigorous charge, Montrose thought proper to yield to the temper of his men, by leading forward the remainder in person.

It was Sunday, the 2d of February, or Candlemas day, 1645, and the sun had just risen over the shoulder of Ben-Nevis, when this advance was made on the part of Montrose's troops, against the bands of his inveterate but irresolute enemy Argyle. Taken as the latter were so completely by surprise, and with a great portion of their strength already cut off, they had before this period drawn themselves up in a line of somewhat formidable extent, the Highlanders in the centre, and the Lowlanders at the various extremities, while a small reserve stood behind on an eminence, and a garrison of about fifty remained within the neighbouring fortress of Inverlochy. The ground on which they stood was perfectly level, being simply that angle of the vale which was formed by the junction of the river Lochy with the arm of the sea called Loch Eil. Behind them, and still

nearer the embouchure of the river, Inverlochy castle, said to have been an early seat of the Caledonian monarchs, raised its vast square form into the clear winter air; and behind that again, the provision galleys, and that in which Argyle had taken shelter,¹² lay upon the placid face of the estuary, as if quietly waiting to witness the dreadful scene which was to ensue.

It was perhaps a fatal circumstance for this devoted host, that they should have been kept at their position to receive the attack of the enemy. If they had been regular and experienced troops, such a measure would have probably been the best, as the leaders might have calculated upon their having the fortitude to meet firmly and repel with vigour the irregular charge of their antagonists. But as they were themselves chiefly Highlanders, and must have therefore been disposed to look upon an attack as almost the only means of gaining an advantage in battle, it would have certainly been better to have given them an opportunity of meeting charge with charge, so as to make the chances of success equal on both sides. As the case stood, they proved quite unable to withstand the impetuosity of the foe which advanced upon them. When they saw the disorderly bands of Montrose issue at the sound of the trumpet from the dusky glen before them; when they saw their uplifted weapons flashing under the rays of the sun, as they rushed forward at full speed over the intermediate stripe of level ground; when they heard the wild yell with which they accompanied the discharge of their muskets, and made their last spring forward to close in active conflict; the hearts of the stationary soldiers, unexcited by motion, as those of their enemies had been, fairly

sunk within them, and they might be said to have lost the battle before it was commenced. The greater part of them discharged their firelocks only once against the royalists, and then, without ever drawing blade, turned and fled in dismay. A few only, and those in detached portions throughout the field, waited for the charge, or made the least attempt to contest the fortune of the day. They also being soon overpowered, a few minutes saw the whole of the Argyle army accumulated in a confused and terrified mass upon the brink of the loch, or else flying in irretrievable disorder along its shore.

After the turn of the day, Montrose's men, only three or four of whom had been wounded, found easy work in chasing and cutting down the unhappy Campbells ; and truly, there never was perhaps an army, which, either victorious or defeated, lost so great a proportion of its whole number in battle, as did this unfortunate host at the fight, or rather flight, of Inverlochy. In the first place, those who crowded back upon the beach in the hope of reaching the vessels, were almost without exception slain or drowned. Those who fled along the shore towards the south-west, were closely followed, and great numbers of them overtaken and slain. A party of about two hundred, who made for the castle of Inverlochy, were diverted from that place of refuge by a troop of Montrose's horse, and either cut down, or driven back amongst the rest upon the beach. A great number were there endeavouring to reach their chief's vessel, by means of the rope which attached it to the land, when, the rope by accident giving way at the end connected with the shore, all that were upon it sunk at once into the sea and were drowned. Ar-

gyle himself, too much concerned for his own person to attempt the succour of these ill-starred individuals, was no sooner certain of the fate of the day, than he caused his sails to be raised, and, extricating his vessel from the midst of scores of his dying kinsmen and clan who clung around it, bore off down the loch to seek a more secure place of shelter.

Such is the general outline of the battle of Inverlochy, in which fifteen hundred of the losing party, or a full half of their whole number, were slain, almost without resistance, by an enemy who did not at first reckon above a moiety of their numerical force. It was one of the most complete victories which Montrose ever gained, and also one of the most important in its political consequences; for it occasioned such a reflux of hope in the breast of the king, that he immediately afterwards saw fit to break off a treaty, which the previous gloom of his affairs had induced him to enter into with his insurgent parliament, and once more to declare for war. The Scottish parliament, which was sitting at the time, heard of the battle with dismay, and immediately proceeded to forfault and seize the estates of all the royalists who had fought in it.¹³ They were gratified, on the 12th of February, with a visit from Argyle, who, after ostentatiously riding up the High Street of the metropolis with his arm hung in a scarf, as at once an apology to the people for his conduct in the battle, and a means of exciting compassion for his mischances in the public service, appeared before them, and gave as favourable an account as the notorious circumstances of the case would permit, of all that he had done and suffered in their behalf since he last parted with them. To conceal

as much as possible the extent of the calamity from the public, they expressed the greatest satisfaction with his lordship's services, and even rendered him a public vote of thanks.¹⁴ In prosecution of the same laudable end, Lord Balmerino gave out in the General Assembly next day, that there had not been above thirty men killed in the late battle.¹⁵ On hearing of the first two victories of Montrose, they had thought proper to order a day of solemn fast and humiliation throughout the kingdom, as the best devisable method for bracing the nerves of the nation to a renewal of the combat; but having probably found that course rather productive of the contrary effect, they now seem to have adopted the plan pursued with such effect in recent times by an insurrectionist of greater magnitude—that of fairly denying defeat.

Highland tradition, upon which, in a sincere conviction of its credibility, I have drawn for a small part of the preceding narration, proceeds to record several circumstances consequent upon the battle, which may here also be given, as illustrative of the spirit of the men who fought in it, and as calculated to be generally interesting.

In the pursuit along the shore of Loch Eil, which was continued the amazing distance of nine Scottish or about fourteen English miles,¹⁶ it happened that Deors or George MacAlaster, the brave man who had commenced the battle, was also the last to give up the chase. He was toiling up a steep hill-side, in pursuit of two recreant Campbells, when they, observing that he had left his fellows far behind, took heart of grace, and resolved to rush back upon and dispatch him. His situation being thus all at once changed from that of a triumphant pursuer to the condition of an over-

matched antagonist, he seemed to be in such danger, that a companion who was straining a good way behind him, could not help exclaiming, as he rushed forward to his rescue, "Oh! the brave man is lost! the brave man is lost!" George, however, who had already killed no fewer than twenty-one of the enemy in active conflict, with his own hand, was not destined to fall a sacrifice at last to a pair of craven fugitives. Long before his friend came up, he had killed his opponents with two successive blows of his sword; though, such was his excessive fatigue, or such the anxiety of his mind on the occasion, that he dropped down in a swoon almost at the same moment with the last of his antagonists.

When the chase was over, and all the men had returned to the camp, it became necessary that they should look about for the means of solacing themselves with the breakfast for which they might then be supposed to have acquired so good an appetite. Having accordingly got a certain quantity of food scraped together, and being provided with a few pots from the neighbouring hamlet, they were all busily engaged in cookery, a small party seated in expectation around every separate fire, when a man came up, and, addressing one of these parties, preferred a request that they would resign their pot in favour of Major-General Alaster MacCol, who, it appeared, had somehow failed to procure one of these indispensable articles, though he was quite as anxious for his breakfast as any individual in the army. The men naturally demurred at a request which threatened them with the loss of their much-wished-for meal; yet, as they entertained the warmest respect for MacCol, and were afraid, moreover, to disoblige a man so high in command, they were on the point of yielding up their pot. There was,

however, one person in the party, who had the hardihood to oppose so mean a concession. This was a man of the name of Robertson, of the family of Calvine in Athole, and by trade a blacksmith; a man of singularly athletic powers, a first-rate swordsman, and one who could use his weapons with prodigious effect; who, it also afterwards appeared, carried, under a boisterous external manner, a soul of the greatest and most genuine modesty. Robertson exclaimed loudly against the proposal to surrender the pot, and even vowed that he would keep it in spite of both his companions and MacCol. "Tell the general," he cried, addressing the messenger, "that it was I who prevented you from getting the pot. What!" he added, turning in jest to his companions, "if he killed twenty men to-day, I killed nineteen. If two more had come in my way, I believe I would have beat him. As it is, I think I am very nearly as good as he." The man went to tell the general how unsuccessful he had been in his mission, and to report what had been said by the daring blacksmith. But MacCol, in whose soul no ungenerous feeling ever could find way, only remarked that the man had justice on his side and must be permitted to keep the pot; after which, having succeeded in procuring a meal by some other means, and being anxious to see a man who had displayed so much activity in battle, and afterwards bearded his commander in so extraordinary a manner, he walked out in quest of him. As he approached the spot where he had been given to understand Robertson was seated, that individual caught a glimpse of his person, and immediately glided out of the way, to avoid a rencounter which he was afraid might involve him in disagreeable consequences. Nevertheless, MacCol

'followed and soon overtook him ; when having desired to know his name, the Highlander could only be brought to answer, " Mine is not a worth name ; it is not fit, at least, to be named among those of the many brave men who have fought to-day." Still MacCol insisted upon being told his designation ; when at length, after the question had been several times repeated, Robertson thought proper, in his modesty, to give this evasive and metaphorical answer, " I am only a poor tinker among the Athole men;" which he thought would be sufficient to satisfy, or at least to parry, the curiosity of his general.

MacCol's observation in reply was so emphatic as to be still proverbial in the Highlands : " *Struóg o Dhee nach bu chàird gu lir phir A-ol n du !*" — " Would to God the Athole-men had been all tinkers this day !"¹⁷

The general afterwards remarked, " I thought I had done very well to-day in killing twenty of the Campbells, but there was a man with a black dirk, (meaning George MacAlaster,) who killed one more, and, what is far more humiliating, here is an Athole tinker who brought down only one less." The reader will scarcely fail to be surprised when he is thus informed that three individual soldiers in Montrose's army slew sixty men in battle for their own hands. But when the prodigious strength and spirit of these men is seriously considered, and in contrast with the irresolution of the Campbells, his wonder will in a great measure cease. To convince him of the credibility of the fact, it may be mentioned, as a well-remembered peculiarity of MacCol in particular, that he never required to strike an enemy twice. He always fought with an immense two-handed sword ; and such were the skill

and strength with which he wielded his weapon, that one blow was quite sufficient to bring down any ordinary man. Upon the principle of "*Exceptio firmat regulam*," it may even be recorded, that there is one instance known by Highland tradition, of his favouring an enemy with a second stroke, and that was at this very battle, in the case of a peculiarly strong Macgregor, who had happened to espouse the Argyle interest. If one stroke, however, failed in this particular case, tradition has been careful to observe, that the second proved far more than sufficient.

Another anecdote has been preserved by Highland tradition regarding the famous Alaster MacCol, one less pleasing in its nature than that which has just been related, but which is nevertheless valuable, as strongly characteristic of the man, and of the sort of society to which he belonged. MacCol had been originally induced to command the Marquis of Antrim's men in Scotland, mainly by a desire of avenging by their means certain injuries which his family and himself had sustained at the hands of the Campbells. The feeling of hostility which he bore to that tribe, had been rather increased than diminished since his arrival in Scotland; for, to mark their indignation at his conduct under Montrose, a party of them had seized his nurse, at her house in the Western Islands, and, with peculiar brutality, cut off one of her breasts, telling her that such was no more than she deserved, for having suckled so infamous a traitor. By their means, moreover, his father, Col Keitoch, and two junior brothers, were at this very moment on their way to Edinburgh from the Hebrides, to be delivered up to the mercy of the Scottish Estates. It seems to have been under the

influence of an intense feeling of revenge, consequent upon these atrocities, that he charged with such inconsiderate enthusiasm, and fought with such deadly effect, on the day of Inverlochy; and it will be seen from a deed which he committed after the heat of battle was passed, and which remains to be recorded, that this dreadful passion was not stilled in his bosom by all the carnage he had that day achieved and witnessed.

Soon after the close of the fight, a party of men who had pursued the chase for a considerable distance, brought up before their major-general a prisoner of no less distinction than Campbell of Auchinbreck, the experienced old soldier whom Argyle had called over from Ireland to take a part in the war, and to whom he had that day committed the command of his men, when he himself retired on board the galley. The unfortunate gentleman, on being brought into the presence of MacCol, thought proper to address him in a soothing strain, and mentioned in particular the degree of relationship in which they stood in regard to each other, hoping, it would appear, by leading the conversation into that channel, always so agreeable to a Highlander, to divert his captor's thoughts from any recollection of their former differences, and, as a matter of course, to procure the better treatment from him in his present unhappy circumstances. MacCol, who at once saw his drift, and resolved not to be carried away by it, replied to Auchinbreck's genealogical references, that, if they had time, he doubted not they might find a great deal to say upon that subject, and to some purpose too. "In the meantime," he added, "as I know you to be a gentleman, both by family and profession—*Tigharm* [laird or proprietor] of Auchinbreck in

Scotland, and of Dunlir in Ireland—I mean to confer a compliment upon you.” Auchinbreck uttered a profusion of acknowledgments, and eagerly inquired in what that compliment was to consist. “ Co dhiù s fàr lat d chroche no n chur dhiot ? ” thundered out MacCol : “ Which of the two will you prefer—to be hanged, or to have your head cut off ? ”—“ Alas ! ” answered the unfortunate Campbell, “ Dà dhiù, gun aù noen : ” “ Two bads, without one choice ; ”—a saying which has continued ever since proverbial in the Highlands. The words were scarcely uttered when Alaster MacCol, with one sweep of his huge sword, sheared off the whole of his prisoner’s head above the ears, and Auchinbreck lay a lifeless corpse upon the ground. It is invariably added by tradition, that Auchinbreck had, by his previous conduct towards MacCol, justified this violent and dreadful act of revenge, so far as such an act may be esteemed capable of justification.

In conclusion it may be stated, that there were killed at the battle of Inverlochy, besides their commander Auchinbreck, and fifteen hundred private men, no fewer than sixteen gentlemen and officers of note, including Campbell of Lochnell, his eldest son, and his brother Colin ; MacDougal of Rara, with his eldest son, the provost of the collegiate church of Kilmun ; the Laird of Glensaddel ; and Major Menzies, brother to the Laird of Achattens Parbreck. There were, moreover, taken prisoners, besides many private soldiers, the Laird of Innerea, the Laird of Parbreck, the *Young Laird* (or heir-apparent) of Glensaddel, the Laird of Silvercraig, the Laird of Lamont, the goodman of Pynmoir, the Captain of Dunstaffnage, his son Lieutenant-Colonel Cockburn ; Captains Stewart,

Murray, and Stirling; Robert Cleland, or Clydson, and one Dougal, a preacher.¹⁸ In opposition to this immense loss on the part of the enemy, Montrose had only to reckon three private men killed, and one gentleman wounded. The last was the Honourable Sir Thomas Ogilvie, son of the Earl of Airly, who, having received a shot in his thigh, died a few days after, as they were marching through Badenoch, to the great grief of his commander.

CHAPTER II.

THE RETREAT OF DUNDEE.

Therefore I pray you stay not to discourse,
But mount you presently.

SHAKESPEARE.

THE battle of Inverlochy, as already stated, struck a dreadful panic into the Estates assembled at Edinburgh. It is supposed to have contributed great assistance to the stone, in killing their president the Earl of Lauderdale; and Baillie himself acknowledges, that, had Montrose immediately after come down into the Lowlands, he would have found no opposition in the Lennox, in Clydesdale, or in Ayrshire, "yea even to the gates of Edinburgh. God," he adds, with a feeling of infinite thankfulness, "in mercy to us, put other thoughts in his head. He incontinent marched northward."

It would have perhaps been Montrose's best policy to have seized this occasion for descending upon the capital, and endeavouring to break up the rebel government; because, although his army was at present very small, the terrible character which its repeated victories, and especially the last, had acquired for it, would have probably compensated in a great measure the want of numerical force, and even perhaps disposed his opponents to yield to him before his real strength was ascertained. He,

however, considered, and he was certainly the best judge of the case, that it would be better to employ some little time before such a movement, in making the use of his last victory which he had originally calculated upon when he determined to hazard the battle;—namely, to draw together the loyal clans and families who had previously been only prevented from joining him by their terror of Argyle, but who, being now relieved from the domination of that tyrant, would, he felt assured, immediately flock to him, and, by their accession, swell his army to such a respectable amount, as would not only enable him to overwhelm the Scottish parliament, but also prove of most material service to the king in an expedition which he would immediately afterwards undertake against his enemies in England.

Led by such views, after having spent only two or three days at Inverlochy, for the refreshment of his men, and the securing of the spoil, he raised his army, and, marching towards the north-east, descended along the course of the Spey into the province of Moray. The northern army which had been collected to oppose him at Inverness, he resolved to pass unmolested, partly because he now apprehended little annoyance from it, and partly because he was unwilling to spend his time in beleaguering a well-defended and well-provisioned town, such as Inverness then was. He chose rather to direct his force against a great party of the gentry of Moray and their attendants, which he understood had been collected at Elgin, the capital of the province, by the covenanting parliamentary committee, with the intention of opposing him; or at least of endeavouring to protect the country from his ravages, but which he hoped to be able to draw

over in a great measure to his own side when he should appear before them.

As he advanced upon Elgin, a deputation came to him from these gentlemen, "to deal with him," as it was phrased; in other words, to endeavour to propitiate him towards their persons and estates. But the only answer he could give them was, that "he would accept any who would join with him in his Majesty's service, and obey him as the royal lieutenant." Before the answer could be returned by their commissioners, they had all dispersed, and every one shifted for himself.¹

He entered Moray "with displayed banners,"² sending before him in all directions a proclamation, by which all the men of the province betwixt the ages of sixteen and sixty were commanded to rank under him for the king's service, under pain of being proceeded against with fire and sword, as avowed rebels. Under the terror of this denunciation, or perhaps rather glad of it as a reason for deserting the Covenant, the Laird of Grant, with three hundred men, the Earl of Seaforth, the Lairds of Pluscardine and Losslyne, and Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstone, almost immediately joined him. These were decidedly the most influential men in the district; yet by far the greater part of the rest still thought it their duty, or their safety, to hold back. He was therefore under the necessity of executing military vengeance upon the houses and estates of Grange-hill, Brodie, Cowbin, and Innes, which respectively belonged to four recusant gentlemen of great influence, as also upon the houses of Ballendalloch, Foyness, and Pitchash, all of which were the property of one gentleman of the same description, the Laird of Ballendalloch. Besides burning the houses and lands of these gentle-

men, and taking away or destroying every thing which they possessed in the shape of cattle or other property, he plundered the village of Garmouth, and the lands of Burgie, Lethen, and Duffus, and destroyed all the boats and nets which he found upon the river Spey.³ He has been much blamed for these devastations; but it ought to be recollected, that he was only practising what was then and long after considered the best method of reducing a rebellious country. It is, however, certain that he was obliged, in many instances, much against his own will, to allow of such proceedings, merely because he could not satisfy the men who required license for them at his hands, by any more regular mode of remuneration for their services. It would be well if the historians who sound the charge against him upon this subject, would look a little more attentively at his circumstances, at the general spirit of the age, and more especially at the previous conduct of his opponents, tyrannical as they had been in imposing obnoxious oaths and duties upon the people, and in levying from them an enormous amount of men and taxes for the prosecution of their own selfish and ill-starred enterprises.

As Montrose advanced to Elgin, the inhabitants, at once indisposed towards his cause and afraid of his troops, almost all fled to the castle of Spynie, the strongest house in the province, carrying their most valuable goods with them; and such was the desolation of the town in consequence, that the Fair of St Fasten's Eve, which then usually gathered upon its streets a great part of the inhabitants of the north of Scotland, was for this year not held. To induce him to save the town from conflagration, the magistrates gave him four thousand merks, (about two hundred pounds.)

but the common soldiers were so indignant at the flight of the inhabitants, and the removal of their effects, that they could not be restrained from plunder.

On the very day he entered Elgin, February 19, he was joined by Lord Gordon, the eldest son of the Marquis of Huntly, who had last year given him so much vexation by remaining with Argyle, but who had now been induced, by the persuasion of Archibald Gordon, by his own disgust at the Covenanters, and by the crush which Argyle had lately received, at length to declare for the cause to which his affections and those of his family had all along directed him. The marquis received this young nobleman with a degree of joy proportioned to his great personal merit, and to the value of his family connexions ; and he now made no doubt of being speedily joined by the whole of that powerful and spirited clan, whose services he had been so repeatedly, from untoward circumstances, disappointed in obtaining. Accordingly, he was immediately after joined by Huntly's third son, Lord Lewis Gordon, against whom he had had the honour of fighting, only four months before, at Aberdeen, but who had now, like his brother, fairly resolved to shake off the uneasy bondage of the Covenant ; and he was informed that a great part of the clan was in the very act of preparing to follow the example of their brave young leaders.

Soon finding, therefore, that he had little to expect in Moray, but a great deal in Banffshire and Aberdeenshire, Montrose thought proper, on the 4th of March, to leave Elgin and cross the Spey. As he went, he sent forward parties to raise the inhabitants, on the usual alternative of destruction to the country ; and thus the towns of Cullen and

Banff, refusing to yield obedience, were unrelentingly plundered. Before he had proceeded far, learning that the garrison of Inverness was executing the same species of vengeance upon the estates of the Moray gentlemen that had joined him, he generously permitted them all to go back to defend their own possessions, only taking them bound upon their parole, to continue faithful to the king, or at least not to join the Covenanters.⁴ It must be recorded to the discredit of the Earl of Seaforth, that he immediately broke this obligation by reverting to the Covenanters, whom, however, it appeared he had originally left with reluctance.

At Strabogie or Gordon Castle, where Montrose pitched his camp after crossing the Spey, he had the misfortune to lose his eldest son Lord Graham, a youth of sixteen, who had already displayed a promise of greatness almost equal to his own, and who had thus preferred accompanying his father through the perils of his desultory campaigns, to every other and securer mode of life. When he had procured all the levies which Lord Gordon was able to raise amongst his clan, about five hundred foot, and a hundred and sixty horse, he moved forward through Banffshire, with the intention of crossing the Dee and falling down upon the Lowlands by the way of Angus. In passing, he called at the House of Cullen, the lord of which, (the Earl of Finlater,) he found, had left it in the charge of his lady, to seek refuge amongst his fellow patriots at Edinburgh. His men instantly plundered it of all its splendid furniture and plate, and were about to set it on fire, when the countess, for five thousand merks in hand, and the promise of fifteen thousand more, purchased a respite

of that part of its sentence for the space of fifteen days.⁵ It is mentioned by Spalding, to the credit of the marquis, that, notwithstanding the great influence and zeal which the proprietor of this house had exerted in the service of the Covenanters, he did not destroy any of his lands.

Previous to the 17th of March, Montrose had marched triumphantly, and without the least opposition, through the whole county of Aberdeen, marking his course, as in Banffshire, with the flames of the property of his enemies. His first stage from Banff was to Tureff, in the neighbourhood of which he destroyed sixty ploughs belonging to the Viscount Frendraught, together with almost all the movable property of the three parishes of Inverkeithny, Forgue, and Drumblate, the house of the minister of Forgue included. He then marched by Inverury to Kintore, where he received a great reinforcement of militia, which had been raised by force for his service throughout Aberdeenshire. An incident had in the meantime occurred at Aberdeen, which occasioned him some uneasiness.

He had sent Nathaniel Gordon to that city, along with Donald Farquharson, a great Highland adherent, and about eighty other well-horsed gentlemen, to seize a quantity of the enemy's stores lying there, and to keep a look-out for Baillie's army, which he daily expected to approach him by that route. They had executed their commission so far, and finding no intelligence of the enemy, were taking their ease in the town, when, some inimical citizen having given notice of their unguarded condition, Major-General Hurry, second in command under Baillie, one evening arrived unexpectedly, with an hundred and sixty horse and

feet, at the gates of Aberdeen, and having first secured the avenues of the town, immediately proceeded to fall upon the unsuspecting cavaliers, many of whom they killed as they sat at wine, while the rest only escaped with the greatest difficulty, to carry the news to Montrose's camp. Amongst the slain was Donald Farquharson, "a brave gentleman," says Spalding, "and one of the greatest captains amongst all the Highlanders of Scotland." Hurry retired next day unmolested, carrying with him a number of prisoners, who, as traitors to the Covenant, were immediately consigned to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. The frequency of such incidents as this, during the course of the civil war, serves to show that, although a great deal of individual bravery was displayed at every stage of its progress, and in every pitched action, the belligerent parties never to the end learned to act with the cautious discretion of a regular soldiery.

The magistrates of Aberdeen, who had a few days before obtained a promise from Montrose, that their city should be no more subjected to the license of his soldiers, took great pains to assure him that they had no concern in this unhappy affair, which they feared might bring down upon them some terrible token of his wrath. He had too strong a sense of justice, however, to confound the innocent with the guilty, and too much generosity to make the matter a pretext, as other generals might have done, (*cum vulpe in fabula*), for an exercise of indiscriminate vengeance. He was obliged, it is true, at this time, to send a party to the town to demand new clothing for his army, which cost the inhabitants a tax of ten thousand pounds Scottish money; but so anxious was he to

preserve his word in regard to private depredations, that he caused his men to be quartered at a little distance without the walls, and, on a few of the Irish remaining behind, to raise exactions on their own private account, his major-general, MacCol, came presently back, and, in Spalding's words, "drove the rascals with sore skins out of the town before him."⁶

From Kintore, Montrose marched forward, upon the 17th of March, to Durris, in the shire of Kincardine, and from thence, on the 19th, to Stonehaven, where he set himself to beat up the quarters of the Earl Marischal. This nobleman, formerly his companion in arms, had now shut himself up in the strong castle of Dunottar, along with no fewer than sixteen ministers and other persons of consideration; irresolute, apparently, whether to continue faithful to the Covenant, or to go over to the royalists, and only in the meantime anxious for security while he should consider the point in his own mind. Montrose, on the 20th, sent a letter from Stonehaven to Dunottar, requiring his lordship to come out and join him in the king's service, or else remain where he was "upon his peril;" and Marischal was half disposed to accede to the former alternative, when unfortunately the ministers interfered, and persuaded him to hold out. Montrose, immediately on receipt of his lordship's answer, which declared in a neutral style, that "he would not be against the country," sent his men to plunder and burn the lands of Dunottar; which they did with all their customary promptitude and rigour, setting fire, moreover, to the neighbouring town of Stonehaven, as well as to all the fishing-boats which lay in the harbour. Lord Marischal, from the walls of his

castle, beheld the destruction which thus indiscriminately overtook his property, and that of his tenants and dependents; and it is said, that the sight produced such a change in his sentiments, that he expressed regret for having refused to join Montrose. But the celebrated Mr Andrew Cant, who happened to be one of his garrison of ministers, once more edified his first resolution, by telling him that the smoke which he saw ascending from his worthless worldly goods, would be "a sweet-smelling incense in the nostrils of the Lord!"

Before removing from this quarter of the country, Montrose also burnt the lands of Fetteresso, including an extensive deer-park, the innocent inhabitants of which, although they fled at sight of the flames, were unsparingly seized and slain. He moreover burnt the village of Cowie, near Stonehaven, as also the manse of the minister of Dunottar. It is a remarkable feature of the campaign in which he was now engaged, that he had no greater mercy for the property of the clergy than for that of the secular persons who were obnoxious to him. He perhaps considered that, as these personages had been in some measure the authors of the war, or at least its prime managers, and as they were now the most zealous and infuriate enemies he had, it was but proper that they should suffer a portion of the natural consequences of their indiscreet zeal, and endure their share of his just resentment.

The Covenanting army, which Argyle had dispatched, in January, to fall upon Montrose's front, while he himself came up in his rear, and which, on learning the issue of the battle of Inverlochy, had marched but very slowly, was now lying at Brechin, under Baillie and Hurry, with the intention

of intercepting the royalists in their descent upon the Lowlands. It was considerably superior in numbers, and particularly in horse, to Montrose's army; but, although commanded by men of experience and gallantry, its strength was impaired and its motions clogged to a ruinous degree by a committee of parliamentary civilians, which the Estates had seen fit to impose upon the nominal commanders, as their supreme counsellors and guides.

Montrose, calculating that he would be obliged to fight a pitched battle with this host before getting down upon the low country, moved forward to Fettercairn, a village about eight miles short of their camp, where he proposed to rest till such time as they should betray their intentions by some movement. While he was lying here, Hurry, who had the command of the horse, came out with six hundred of his troopers, to inspect the condition, and if possible ascertain the numbers, of the royal army. Montrose got early intelligence of his approach, and prepared for it by placing the few horse he had (under two hundred) on a conspicuous place in advance of his camp, with a strong body of his best musketeers behind in a hollow. Hurry, seeing only the horse, made no scruple to attack a troop apparently so much inferior to him in strength; but Montrose then brought out his concealed musketeers, and gave him a reception so different from what he expected, that he at once ordered a retreat. The Covenanting troopers were dreadfully frightened, and retired in great confusion; but Hurry, who, though a mere soldier of fortune, was a man of singular bravery and conduct, protected them so well by fighting in their rear, that they got over the North Esk, and returned to the camp at Brechin, with little real damage.

For some days after this rencounter, no movement was made by either army; a mutual respect for each other's strength and character apparently inspired both commanders with a reluctance to give or provoke battle. At length, Montrose conceived the idea of eluding Baillie, and getting into the Lowlands without fighting him. He was only obliged, before executing such a project, to send back the greater part of the Gordons to their own country, to protect it from the vengeance which Baillie might then be at liberty to execute upon it.⁷ Having done this, he passed, with the remainder of his army, along the skirts of the Grampians, towards Dunkeld, where he intended to cross the Tay. Baillie made no direct attempt to stop him; but, hovering on his flank, contented himself with preserving such a position as seemed sufficient to prevent him from making his intended descent. The two armies paused for two days opposite to each other, (March 29 and 30,⁸) on the different banks of the river Isla; and Montrose sent a trumpeter to Baillie, proposing either to permit him to cross the water, for the purpose of fighting a pitched battle, or that Baillie should allow him to go over to the other side for the same purpose, the stationary party in either case engaging upon his word of honour to abstain from attacking the other till he should declare himself ready to fight. But to this proposal, so much in the spirit of ancient chivalry, Baillie only replied, with characteristic surliness, that he would "look to his own business himself, and did not require other men to teach him when to fight." The armies then proceeded on their former route, Montrose towards Dunkeld, and Baillie towards Perth, which they both reached about the same time. When Mon-

trose thus saw that he could not well get into the Lowlands without encountering the Covenanting army, he resolved to keep close to the mountains, and only to harass the enemy by those occasional and desultory sallies which his adherents were sure to manage with dexterity and success.

The very first expedition of this sort which he undertook, was one which showed his own address and that of his men in a very striking point of view. Being informed by his scouts that the Covenanters had gone south to the fords of Forth, there to intercept the passage which they believed he still designed to make over that river into the south of Scotland, he suddenly conceived the design of making an *infall*, or *onslaught*, as the phraseology of the times variously termed it, upon the town of Dundee, which, by reason of the southward march of the enemy, happened to be left completely exposed and unprotected. Accordingly, upon the evening of the 3d of April, having first sent off all the weakest of his men, together with his baggage, to Brechin, he himself led an hundred and fifty horse and six hundred picked musketeers down upon that city, which, by marching all night, he reached about ten o'clock next forenoon. Dundee, which was then one of the largest and most opulent towns in Scotland,⁹ had previously excited the enmity of Montrose by its general zeal in the opposite cause, and particularly by its refusal to admit him after the battle of Tippermuir. Its citizens were destined, on the present occasion, to give still another and perhaps deeper cause of offence, by imprisoning the drummer whom he sent to summon them to surrender. When he learned that they had put this affront upon him, he at once granted the permission which his men desired, to

fall upon the town, and treat it with the extremity of military execution. Under the command of Lord Gordon and Alaster MacCol, they attacked it in three places simultaneously : the citizens fired cannon from their ports, and made otherwise as stout a resistance as possible ; but nothing could withstand the fury of the soldiery, flushed as they were at once with indignation and cupidity. A few minutes saw the town completely in the hands of the assailants. A scene of plunder and outrage then commenced, such as humanity shudders to contemplate, but which must nevertheless, it is to be feared, always form part of the consequences of a civil war. The church and market-place were at once broken open and plundered. The houses of the citizens, and especially their wine-vaults, were next ransacked ; and finally, fire was put to the town on its east and north quarters, and a great portion of it, including the whole of the district called the Bonnet Hill, burnt down. The sack continued till late in the afternoon, when at length a period was put to it by an unexpected occurrence.

Montrose had not himself taken any part in the scene. He contented himself with surveying it from the top of the neighbouring hill called Dundee Law. He was there quietly waiting till his men should have completed their dreadful work, when suddenly his scouts came up, almost breathless with haste, to inform him, that, instead of having gone over the Tay towards the Forth, as was supposed, the Covenanters were marching as fast as they could down the Carse of Gowrie, to the relief of Dundee, having in reality never yet gone a foot farther south than Perth. Such was too truly the case. These scouts, with culpable

negligence, had mistaken an apparent intention for a real transaction, and brought their master information that the Covenanters were gone to the Forth, after having only seen a few of them cross over the Tay! Intelligence of this attack upon Dundee had reached them soon after it took place; and Baillie had then hastily put himself at the head of two regiments of horse, and, commanding his foot to follow as fast as possible, had set off at the gallop to the relief of the town. He was within two miles of Montrose's position at the time the scouts came to communicate the alarming news.

A council of war was immediately held on the top of the Law, at which various proposals for the conduct of the army under such distressing circumstances, were hastily proposed and warmly discussed. Some counselled that the officers and the horse should immediately ride off, leaving the foot to their fate, conceiving it to be impossible to bring off the latter by any means, as they were both fatigued with the morning's march, and overwhelmed with the drink and prey which they had got in the town. Others proposed that, as they conceived the case to be desperate, they should all united stand out against General Baillie, and only endeavour to sell their lives as dearly as they could. Montrose, however, rejected the first of these proposals as ungenerous, and the other as rash. He had resolved in his own mind upon a different course. Having commanded a retreat to be sounded, and the men to be called out of the town, he went down himself, made a selection of the weakest and most inebriated, sent them off in advance, and finally he himself, with the horse and best musketeers, closed the rear. The route which he chose was not the most direct for the hills, or

for the position of his main body, but lay in the direction most nearly opposite to that in which his enemies were advancing.

It was six o'clock, and the evening was just closing in, when he commenced his retreat. Almost at the same instant, Generals Baillie and Hurry entered with their whole army, horse and foot, at the other extremity of the town. A considerable space of time had elapsed between the alarm and the real approach of the troops; for Baillie, although he came nearer the town much sooner with his horse, thought proper to wait till he should be reinforced with his foot, before he made the attack; and thus Montrose's men had got time to collect and retire. Baillie, however, no sooner arrived, and learned from some prisoners the numbers and route of the royalists, than he ordered his army to be divided into two parts, one of which should make a circuit and endeavour to get a-head of the fugitives, while the other came up directly in the rear; an arrangement which, he expected, would be attended with their complete destruction. To animate his men to the work, he told them that twenty thousand crowns should be the reward of the brave fellow who brought him Montrose's head.

The Covenanters immediately set out upon their various duties; and it was to have been expected, when the number and circumstances of Montrose's men were considered, that they would fall an easy prey to so powerful a force. The advantages of the two armies were, however, more nearly balanced than they appeared to be. The royalists, though few, were picked men; they were, moreover, although in retreat, extremely confident. Baillie's men, on the other hand, were not inspi-

red with a very strong desire of doing battle with the terrible warriors they were called upon to pursue. Nor were the commanders themselves unanimous in counselling an attack. Hurry, who commanded the horse, with which that attack should have been made, expressed aversion to such a movement, and failed to take the necessary measures for accomplishing it. Thus it happened, that although a great tumultuary force went in pursuit of Montrose, there was no decisive order given for the movement of the men, and no concerted measures laid down for their various evolutions. They made several attacks upon the rear of Montrose's host, and endeavoured to assail it in other directions, but they were invariably received with so sharp and destructive a fire, were, moreover, so much fatigued with their march, and so much perplexed by the darkness of the night and the irresolution of their leaders, that instead of making any serious impression, they were soon obliged to retire, and leave Montrose to pursue his way undisturbed.

Montrose reached Arbroath, a town seventeen miles east from Dundee, long before day-break. His men had then marched about fifty miles, and existed nearly two days, without rest or sleep. It might have been expected, that, utterly unable to resist the force of nature any longer, they would have now sunk exhausted in slumber, without regard to the fate which might overtake them before they should awake. To have yielded, however, in any such way to their sensations, was seen by Montrose to involve certain destruction, their position being now such that Baillie could easily separate them from their main body at Brechin, and either cut them down at leisure in the morning

with the sabres of his troopers, or drive them into the equally unsparing sea. He saw it to be necessary for their salvation, that before morning they should make still another forced march. He pointed out the necessity to them, and called upon them to brace their nerves for the undertaking. They fortunately were possessed of sufficient firmness and enthusiasm to encounter the task, dreadful as it was.

The march which he determined upon was certainly, when its direction is considered, one of the strangest and most adventurous ever projected or achieved by any general. Instead of stealing northward along the coast, in the direction most remote from the position of his enemies, as almost any other commander would have done under similar circumstances—instead of flying in a line at all calculated to lead him away directly from what he had most to dread, he turned short about from the gates of Arbroath, made almost a right angle with his former course, led his men in a north-westerly direction, right athwart the county of Forfar, and, before morning, got across the South Esk at Cariston Castle, where he was within three or four miles of the Grampian hills. Baillie had meanwhile drawn his army round towards the north, and had taken up his quarters for the night at Forfar,—a point from which he conceived he should be able to command Montrose at Arbroath, so that he supposed he would have nothing else to do but fall down upon him at his leisure in the morning, in order to make root and branch work of himself and his miserable little band. But several hours before this calculated period of vengeance arrived, his devoted victims had passed close by his very side, got away half an ordinary day's march beyond

him, and, setting their backs to the firm wall of the Grampians, were able to put both his pursuit and his attack at defiance. A glance at the map of Scotland will enable the reader more fully to comprehend how completely Montrose had thus eluded his enemy, and by what a prodigious exertion.

When the royalists reached Cariston, they had traversed about seventy miles of rough and difficult country, chiefly in the dark, and without rest or sleep. It may be supposed that, when they at length were enabled to stop with safety, they would enjoy the refreshment so necessary to them with peculiar zest. It was, accordingly, with no small vexation, that they were roused during the course of the day from their hard but agreeable repose, by intelligence of the approach of the enemy. Baillie had no sooner learned the evasive trick Montrose had played him, than, thinking yet to overtake him, he got his troops in motion from Forfar; and such was the haste he made, that his horse were in sight of Montrose's bivouac before that general was aware. The men were immediately roused from their lairs, though not without such difficulty that many did not awake even when pricked with swords;¹⁰ and in a few minutes the whole were once more in motion towards the hills. By retiring three miles farther into the recesses of Glenesk, he at length reached a place where he could not possibly be approached; and Baillie then saw fit to abandon the pursuit altogether.

It must be mentioned, that in the meantime the main body of the royalists, which had been placed at Brechin while Montrose made his attack upon Dundee, having received timely notice of the approach of Baillie's army, was also by this time safe from pursuit, along with all the baggage, in

some other recesses of the Grampians, from which they were easily able next day to form a junction with their general.

Montrose had thus accomplished a retreat, which for boldness of design, and masterliness of execution, not to speak of its innumerable difficulties and dangers, might vie, says one of his historians, with any such military transaction on record. The Covenanters looked upon the affair as a sort of victory, merely, it would appear, in consideration of the circumstance, that their generals had caused "the great rebel" to fly; and Baillie devoutly terms it in his Letters a pleasant "blink" of God upon benighted Scotland. But Montrose, by the extraordinary skill and exertion which enabled him to set at nought an enemy who ought properly to have devoured him, had in reality the only honour in the transaction. If the thing could be at all a question, Bishop Wishart has since set it at rest by recording, that among the most experienced officers on the Continent, he had frequently heard the retreat of Dundee preferred, as an exhibition of generalship, to Montrose's greatest and most hard-won victories.

CHAPTER III.

THE BATTLES OF AULDEARN AND ALFORD.

————— One to ten !
Lean raw-boned rascals ; who would e'er suppose
They had such courage and audacity ?

SHAKESPEARE.

THE subsequent proceedings of the armies, however, and of the Parliamentary Committee, proved incontestably the advantage which Montrose had gained by the affair. The latter body, in whose hands lay at this period the whole management of the kingdom, having now apparently lost all hope of suppressing Montrose by their present superior army, sent over to Ireland an order for another thousand of the disciplined troops which they kept there. Till they should arrive, Baillie and Hurry were commanded to dispose themselves only in such a way as seemed most likely to protect the Lowlands, in the meantime, from the ravages of Montrose. Baillie was to remain with the greater portion of the army at Perth, to defend the passes to the capital and the southern shires ; while Hurry was to go northward to Moray, at the head of a smaller portion, with which, being joined by the garrison of Inverness and all possible volunteer adherents of the Covenant, it was hoped he would be able to prevent the arch-enemy from making another descent upon that portion of Lowland terri-

tory. By thus, as it were, drawing a chain of garrisons round the Highland frontier, they virtually acknowledged themselves reduced, for the present, to the miserable expedient of acting on the defensive.

Montrose was, on the other hand, wonderfully little concerned at his confinement in the Highlands. He could have easily called up the great body of the Highland clans, most of which had, since the battle of Inverlochy, been absent upon furlough; and then he could have made a vigorous and in all probability a successful push at some of the Lowland points which his enemies were so anxious to defend. But he preferred, for some unknown reason, the alternative of lurking in his fastnesses. He even consented, at this moment, to permit the remainder of his Aberdeenshire and Moray allies, under the command of Lord Gordon, to go home for the defence of their country from the ravages of Hurry. He seemed content in the meantime to attenuate his force to the smallest possible degree, and to assume as gentle and unalarming an appearance as he considered safe; possibly upon the principle of the great Indian snake, which is said to starve itself down to the utmost tenuity of form, only that it may be able to make the surer and deadlier spring upon its contemplated prey.

While in this slender and obscure condition, he executed one little enterprise in the face of the enemy which was not without its merit as a piece of generalship. Learning by letter that the Lord Aboyne, second son of the Marquis of Huntly, had, with other noblemen and gentlemen to the amount of about thirty, broken out of Carlisle, through the Parliamentary troops then besieging.

it, and were now journeying towards him through the Lowlands of Scotland, he resolved to descend towards some point as near the low country as possible, where he might meet, and give all the protection in his power to a band which had displayed so much romantic gallantry for his sake. Having previously concerted measures with his major-general, the faithful MacCol, he took with him all the force which he now retained about him, (reckoning, it is said, only five hundred foot and fifty horse,) and, thus attended, he wheeled round by Dunkeld to Crieff, a point where he was as near the Lowlands as Baillie was at Perth, and from which he could have easily, had he wished, made the descent which that general was commissioned to prevent. It was only when he had reached that town, which is seventeen miles directly west from Perth, that Baillie became apprised of his adventurous movement. It was immediately seen necessary, however, by the Parliamentary Committee, that an attack should be made upon him before he got any farther south. This Baillie resolved to attempt by night, so as to give him, if possible, a sort of counter-surprise. Montrose was, however, careful on this occasion, somewhat contrary to his general practice, to guard against such a movement. Getting timely notice of the march of the Parliamentary army, he roused and arrayed his little band, so as to fit them for either a fight or a retreat; and he then rode forward himself, with a troop of horse, to ascertain the strength in which the enemy was moving. On approaching them, he discovered that they were in full force, and about five times his own strength; so, immediately riding back to Crieff, he commanded his foot to dive with all expedition into the wild fastness at the head of

Stratherne, which was only eight or ten miles west from their present position, while he with the horse, by remaining behind, should take care to protect them from the fast-advancing cavalry of the enemy.

This retreat was managed with his customary address. The foot, marching on as fast as they could, soon reached that narrow pass at the outlet of Loch Erne, which he had indicated as their place of refuge. He himself covered their rear with his handful of horse, repeatedly charging back upon and repelling the enemy, when they approached too near. After retiring behind the pass, he of course was safe from all farther annoyance, or the possibility of it, by merely planting a small band to sentinel the foot-path. He took up his quarters for the ensuing night upon the pleasant banks of Loch Erne.

On the succeeding day, April 19, he proceeded from Loch Erne through Balquhiddy, to Monteith; and there, at the ford of Cardross, he had the satisfaction of meeting the gallant little band which he had come to protect. It comprised, besides the Viscount Aboyne, the Master of Napier, Stirling of Keir, and Hay of Dalgetty.

While at this southerly point, he ran a great risk of being cut off from all recess to the Highlands by Baillie's army; but he had provided for that contingency. Just as they were about to close in behind him from Stratherne, they were suddenly called away in quite an opposite direction, by intelligence that, during their temporary absence from Perth, Alaster MacCol, with two hundred Highlanders, had broke down upon the Campbells in the lordship of Cupar-Angus, and upon the lands of the Arch-Covenanter Lord Balmerinoch, the whole of which he had spoiled and

burnt, killing moreover the minister of Cupar, and routing a troop under Lord Balcarras, which, happening to lie in the neighbourhood, had endeavoured to interrupt his ravages. The diversion thus skilfully produced, not only relieved Montrose from all danger of being enclosed in Monteith; but also enabled him to perform an expedition which he now found to be necessary, but which must have otherwise been attended with peculiar difficulty.

This expedition was occasioned by the distress in which Lord Gordon was at this period involved in the north country, by the advance of Hurry. When Montrose learned what was going on in that quarter—that Hurry was plundering the country, and threatening the whole clan Gordon with destruction—he adopted the resolution of marching directly north, at once for the purpose of protecting these valuable friends, and that he might have a chance of crushing the northern Covenanting force by one blow, which he knew he could never expect to do if it should be joined to the army now lying in Perthshire. While Baillie, therefore, was vainly seeking to punish MacCol for his infall upon Cupar-Angus, Montrose went directly northward, through Strath Tay and Athole, to the head of Aberdeenshire, raising the Highlanders everywhere as he went along, and receiving back to his standard the very adherent of whom the Presbyterian general was in search; neither Baillie being in the meantime aware of his departure, nor Hurry apprised of his advance. On one of the first days of May he descended upon Auchindown, where Lord Gordon had taken refuge; joined the forces of that nobleman, amounting in all to about fourteen hundred; and then, before Hurry was aware of his

being over the Grampians, he suddenly appeared behind him at his position on the plains of Strabogie.

Hurry, (who had only about a thousand foot and six hundred horse,) on learning that Montrose had approached so near him and with a superior force, was seized with a dreadful panic, and immediately made all the haste he could towards Inverness, for the purpose of strengthening himself by the north country Highlanders, and other troops, which for some time had been rendezvoused there. Montrose followed fast upon his heels through Elgin and Forres; but he was enabled to make good his retreat by the darkness of the night and the superiority of his cavalry.

On reaching Inverness, and being reinforced by the troops lying there, he all at once became an overmatch for Montrose, and changed his defensive for an offensive aspect. He marched back the very next day to Nairn, designing with his whole host to attack Montrose, who, he learned, had set himself down at a village three or four miles to the eastward, called Auldearn. Montrose would now have willingly avoided battle; but, learning that Baillie was rapidly following him through the Highlands, and seeing that he would soon have two armies instead of one to encounter, he was obliged to brace his nerves to a meeting with Hurry, for the purpose of suppressing him in the first place, and thereby reducing the aggregate of enemies which threatened, otherwise, soon to overwhelm him. He therefore retained his position at Auldearn. It was on the 4th of May, or, according to various authorities, the 9th, (1645,) that the two armies came in sight of each other.

The odds against which Montrose had to con-

tend on the present occasion, were much greater, if not in numerical force, at least in real strength, than in any of his former battles. The general opposed to him was here for the first time one of complete military experience; the army for the first time contained a respectable proportion of disciplined men. Hurry's army consisted of five regular regiments; Lothian's and Loudoun's, which he had carried north with him; Lawers's (that is, Campbell the Laird of Lawers's) which he found in garrison at Inverness; and two which the Earls of Sutherland and Seaforth had sent down to him from their remote and hyperborean territories; besides several irregular bodies formed by the Frasers, Rosses, Munroes, MacIntoshes, and other Covenanting clans, and by the retainers of the Earl of Finlater, the Laird of Innes, the Lairds of Boyne and Birkenbog, and various other Moray and Aberdeenshire gentlemen, who assumed the same side. It amounted altogether to the sum of three thousand five hundred foot and about six hundred horse.

Montrose, on the other hand, had only about fifteen hundred foot and two hundred horse; for, although he first appeared in the province with more, almost all the Highlanders had since then been obliged to go home, to protect their country from the ravages which they learned that Baillie was making upon it in his progress northward. He thus reckoned something under one to two in the matter of foot, and about one to three in point of horse. To diminish still farther his chance of success, his present army did not entirely consist of the practised and confident warriors who had achieved such wonders with him at Tippermuir, Aberdeen, and Inverlochy; but was at least half composed of the Gordons and other allies of recent

accession, who had never yet stood fire against any enemy. It would have been, however, a truly prodigious disadvantage, which this singularly gifted general could not overcome.

He seems to have calculated for success, in this battle, almost entirely on generalship and artifice. In the first place, he chose a peculiarly excellent position, and made an exquisitely skilful arrangement of his troops. The ground he selected was a sort of hollow behind or to the east of the ridge on which stands the village of Auldearn, and behind various other heights, which stretch northward from that village towards the house of Both. He arranged his army in two wings or divisions. One, consisting of the Gordons and the horse, he placed on the left, to the south of the village; the other, comprehending the Irish and Highlanders, he arranged on the right, amidst the gardens and enclosed fields to the north of Auldearn. The former he commanded in person, with Lord Gordon under him; the latter was given to the charge of Alaster MacCol. The entire village, intervening betwixt the two bodies, was only occupied by a few foot, who, however, displayed a number of banners, and passed off for a main body. He gave the charge of the royal standard—a large yellow banner—to MacCol, in the expectation that it would induce the enemy to attack him with their best regiments; in which case, as they were sure to be diffculted in charging, by the nature of the ground on which MacCol was placed, he calculated upon deciding the day by attacking their flank obliquely with his left wing at the moment of distress, when the whole were almost sure of being thrown into irremediable confusion.

The battle turned out almost exactly as he had

calculated. Hurry, on approaching, found it totally impossible to comprehend the arrangements of an enemy who had taken up so mysterious a position, but was induced by the sight of the royal standard on the right wing, to direct his strength chiefly upon that point. His men not only met there with a warm reception from MacCol, but presently became confused by reason of the enclosures and ditches through which they had to make their charge. When Montrose saw them in that condition, he brought forward the left wing, which, by an arrangement similar to that of Epaminondas at Leuctra, was much the strongest, and made a furious flank attack upon the great mass of the Covenanting enemy. This, being chiefly composed of raw Highland foot, probably averse to the cause, was quite unable to withstand the charge of the Gordon chivalry, led as it was by such men as Montrose, Lord Gordon, and the brave Sir Nathaniel. Hurry saw the advantage his opponent had gained, and endeavoured to neutralize it by ordering his whole horse to the support of the wavering lines on his right. But the commanding officer—a Captain Drummond—either through treachery or stupidity, misapprehended the order, and, wheeling to the left instead of the right, only threw the disciplined regiments who were contending with MacCol into greater confusion.

This is but an outline of what took place: A number of circumstances remain to be detailed. Just as the engagement was about to commence, Lord Gordon had dispatched a messenger to Alaster MacCol on the opposite wing; reminding him of a contract which had anciently been made between their families, to the effect that, in case of civil disorder, neither should appear in arms against the

other; and proposing that at this interesting moment, when he (Lord Gordon) was on the point of fighting his first battle, they should renew the league, by exchanging into each other's command a portion of each other's troops. MacCol, immediately agreeing to the proposal, sent ninety of his tried soldiers to Lord Gordon, who, in return, sent three hundred of his men to MacCol. But, says the Red Book of Clarranald, which records this strange transaction, it was a bad exchange to MacCol; for these men, who were never engaged in war before, and who entertained an idea that they could not act without horse to protect them, behaved but very poorly in the ensuing conflict. "Alaster," continues this minute chronicler, "perceiving when he drew up his men that he had only a hundred and fifty of his own soldiers, put twenty of them in the front rank, and twenty-five in the second rank, and drew up the three hundred Gordons in the middle; and he himself marched before the whole. The regiment immediately opposed to them was that of the Laird of Lawers, men tried in arms, and the valiant gentlemen, the Mackenzies of Lewis, along with them. A stout battle ensued, as is usual in such situations; but the Gordons not being accustomed to such hard work, as soon as they heard the whistling of a ball, or the sound of an arrow, they bowed their heads or turned away from it. When MacCol perceived that, he went always back, and beckoned them with his hand to take courage and keep order; but they were hard put to, and I myself knew certain men who were obliged to kill some of them to prevent their flight. When the enemy perceived that, they set upon them furiously. Alaster therefore ordered them back to the enclosure which they had forsaken before; but the

pikes and arrows of the enemy galled them much, and killed a great number of them on both sides of the wall, before they got into the enclosure."

The truth is, if Bishop Wishart is to be believed, Montrose had ordered MacCol to keep within the enclosures where he was placed, and attempt no more than to defend his position, so as to keep that wing of the enemy in play while he should endeavour to overwhelm them by a flank charge with the troops under his own command. MacCol, in whose bravery much rashness was mingled, had permitted himself to be drawn forth from his secure fastness, by the insulting language of the enemy; and the consequences of his movement might have been fatal, but for his own indomitable spirit and the address of his general. That great man, being informed by a messenger of the condition to which MacCol had reduced himself, immediately put on a cheerful countenance, and, shouting to the men that MacCol was engrossing all the glory of the victory by his conduct on the right wing, called upon them to push forward after him, and endeavour to obtain a share of what was going. Inspired by his address, they made the charge which has been already described, and that with such force and effect, as, joined to the mistake of Captain Drummond, restored the balance of advantage which MacCol had lost, and decided the fortune of the day.

To pursue the recital of MacCol's behaviour, which has been given with much minuteness by the Clanranald bard: When retiring with his men to the enclosures which they had so injudiciously quitted, this brave captain moved behind all the rest, his back towards his own position, and his face to the foe, as if anxious to intercept with his

own person all the danger he had been the means of bringing upon his men. As the enemy pressed on him, and endeavoured to kill him with their pikes, he received their thrusts upon the target which he bore on his left arm, while with his broadsword he hewed away, either at the persons of his assailants, or at the weapons which they directed against him. The line of his retreat fortunately lay through a narrow lane, so that only a few of the enemy could assail him at once, and these few only in front. Their long pikes, however, would have certainly enabled them to dispatch him, if he had not possessed the amazing strength of arm which has already been mentioned as one of his chief military qualifications. By dint of this strength, he cut off the heads of all the weapons presented to him, sometimes more than one at a time, and by one particular stroke, as is credibly reported, no fewer than five.

Before he got all the men back into the enclosure, his sword broke; but he immediately got another from his brother-in-law, Davidson of Ardnacross, and with it continued to defend himself. He at last got into the enclosure, but not without leaving out a brave companion in arms, named Ronald Mackinnon. This man continued to defend himself for some time with great resolution, hewing away at the pike-heads, in much the same way that MacCol had done; but he was at length transfixed in the breast with five points at once, and had his tongue pinned to his cheek by an arrow. When MacCol saw his condition, he advanced once more beyond the enclosure, and having first struck off the head of one foeman with his sword, soon succeeded in getting the wounded man dragged within the gate, after which the whole were

safe for the time, except from the arrows of the enemy which fell among them. MacCol lost several men in this sally and retreat, and had about seventeen wounded.

It was just at this moment that Montrose made his vigorous charge upon the opposite extremity and flank of the Covenanting army. MacCol no sooner observed, or was informed of the motion, than, notwithstanding the check he had got for a similar movement, he rushed with all his forces, and with the royal banner displayed, from the position to which he had just retreated, and charging home upon the regiments opposed to him, now disordered by Captain Drummond's untoward mistake, and by Montrose's attack, contributed materially to the victory, which then began to declare for the royalists. The veteran regiments under Hurry for some time fought patiently and well, submitting to be cut down in their ranks exactly as they had been marshalled, rather than give way to the assailants. But the raw volunteer bodies of the Highland clans, and the Moray and Aberdeenshire tenantry, almost immediately gave way, so as to leave these brave troops at length no other alternative. A flight then commenced in the direction of Inverness, of which Montrose's men took all the usual advantage, killing every body whom they could overtake, and yielding quarter to none. Hurry himself, and the principal officers, escaped with great difficulty, while the Laird of Lawers, Sirs John and Gideon Murray, Colonel James Campbell, Major Garchore, seven captains, and five lieutenants, lay behind among the heaps of the slain. There were killed altogether, in the battle and flight, three thousand of the Covenanters, chiefly of the foot, and particularly of Lawers's

regiment, which, it would appear, behaved with most bravery on this dreadful day. Out of all the volunteers, the Frasers and Mackenzies suffered most severely: "Of the former clan," says an old family chronicle,² "besides what fell unmarried, there were eighty-seven widows in the lordship of Lovat." Montrose, on his part, lost only twenty-four men in all, none of whom were of any note. He took from the enemy sixteen standards, and fell into possession of their whole baggage and provisions. The broken army retired to Inverness, where, a court-martial being immediately held upon Captain Drummond, and it being proved, on his own confession, that he had spoken to the enemy, after the sign and order for battle had been given, he was sentenced to be shot, a sentence which was immediately executed.³ Montrose, dreading the difficulties, or despising the advantages, of a siege, forbore to annoy Hurry's army in the place of refuge to which it had fled.

There were two circumstances which materially affected Montrose's conduct at the battle of Auldearn, and it is necessary that they should here be specified, for the purpose of vindicating him from the erroneous impressions which must otherwise be made upon the mind of the reader, regarding the carnage which followed that encounter. While lately residing in the Highland fastnesses, he had received a packet of letters from the king, acceding to a proposal which he had found means of making after the battle of Inverlochy; that his majesty should come north and join him in Scotland, so as to transfer the seat of war thither, and thereby oblige the Scottish nation to submit to terms of peace, for the purpose of clearing their country of the armies. The packet was brought to him by a

reduced Scottish gentleman of the name of Small, who, for the purpose, had been obliged to assume the disguise of a beggar, and practise the most ingenious artifices, to escape observation in his transit through the north of England and south of Scotland. As this person was returning, in the same disguise, with a packet of letters from Montrose to the king, he was seized at Elphinstone, on the south bank of the Forth, by Lord Elphinstone, and being immediately hurried before the Committee of Estates at Edinburgh, he was hanged on the succeeding day at the Cross, without trial or ceremony. It was a most important seizure for the Covenanting government, for not only did they thus disarrange the concert between the king and Montrose, but they were also enabled to take such measures in the north of England, as completely prevented the king from ever afterwards executing his intention.⁴ That such a movement on his part would have been decisive against his insurgent subjects in both kingdoms, seems sufficiently clear. "His march into Scotland," says Carte,⁵ "would have removed the only difficulties which Montrose had to struggle with; the want of a body of horse, and the opposition made to his measures by the Marquis of Huntly, the grounds or pretences of whose jealousy, founded on his commission to be king's lieutenant in the north of Scotland, must have dropped on his majesty's presence in the kingdom. All the north would have been then united for the king's service, and would have supplied him with a greater force than he could raise anywhere in England; the power of the Covenanters, which consisted chiefly in terror, would have been broken; the great number of royalists in the Lowlands, sure of support, would have flocked to

his standard ; and the moment he entered the country, he would have been sure of the kingdom, as sufficiently appeared after the battle of Kilsyth. Argyle and the lords of his faction must have then quitted the realm ; the Scotch army in England, discontented for slights put upon them by their English confederates, and the neglect of their pay, and seeing all their possessions in their own country reduced under his majesty's power, might possibly have been induced to join him, which would have brought Berwick, Newcastle, and the four northern counties of England again under his obedience, or else they would, in all probability, have melted away to nothing, in a country where they were already much dispersed, and could not be recruited. At least he would have got a general infinitely superior to any he had already, high in reputation, adored by his soldiers, and terrible to his enemies ; sagacious to discover the first point of possibility, and brave enough to attempt it, but with a presence of mind and judgment, that in a manner secured success ; provident against all accidents ; ever vigilant in looking out for advantages against an enemy, and as sure to improve them ; and who, with all the great and noble qualities that ever formed the most accomplished hero of antiquity, had no selfish views, no passions nor humours to interfere with his duty, but, full of the highest reverence and affection to the king's person, was absolutely devoted to his service."

All these prospective advantages were annulled by the seizure of Small ; for the king, disappointed of Montrose's answer to his packet, could not proceed with the necessary expedition or confidence upon his projected enterprise, and before he had advanced far, the Committee of Estates made

such an arrangement of their troops in the north of England, as obliged him to abandon the expedition altogether. Montrose was himself infinitely disturbed at the miscarriage of the packet; but his chagrin for his own and the public misfortune was not equalled by the indignation he felt at the execution of the messenger. This he resented to such a degree, that a great deal of the merciless slaughter of the Covenanters at Auldearn is to be attributed to it; there being, however, one other circumstance which helped to instigate him to that course of action.

This was a peculiarly cruel murder which a party of Covenanters perpetrated, the day before the battle, upon one of his officers or adherents. In a skirmish which took place between his advanced guard and the rear of Hurry's troops, as he was chasing that general to Inverness, James Gordon, son to the Laird of Rhynie, happened to be wounded. He was conveyed to a house called the Struthers, near Elgin, which was occupied by a friend of his own, there to lie till he should be cured; and another gentleman of the name of Gordon was appointed to attend him. Unfortunately, intelligence of his condition and place of abode reaching the ears of the young Laird of Innes, who was then in the castle of Spynie with a Covenanting garrison, and who had both public and private causes of hatred against the young gentleman, he sent out a party from the garrison, consisting of Captain Smith, Alexander Douglas, John Douglas, and John Milne, all citizens of Elgin, with some others; who, proceeding to the Struthers, deliberately murdered the wounded youth, maiming his attendant, moreover, in such a way that he also was left for dead.⁶ So barbarous and unjustifiable

a murder, committed upon a youth of eighteen, and who was unable to defend himself, while it excited general horror throughout the district, roused the indignation of Montrose against the party whose adherents had perpetrated it, to a degree far above what it had previously been raised to by the lawless execution of his messenger Small. There can, at least, be no doubt that the two circumstances together caused him to "cry havock, and let loose the dogs of war," with the ferocity which has been described, on the bloody field of Auldearn.

But, besides the public vengeance, as it may be styled, which he took upon the party on that occasion, he immediately afterwards proceeded to execute private retaliation upon the individuals who had been guilty in young Rhynie's murder. Advancing upon Elgin, he selected the houses of all these persons, and either unrelentingly burnt them, or caused them to be redeemed by composition. He also destroyed the village of Garmouth, which was chiefly the property of the Laird of Innes, and which, he apprehended, might become, if spared, a harbour for a garrison against the lands of the Gordons.⁷ The lands of Calder and of the Earl of Moray were also plundered, besides some others in the county of Moray, belonging to the gentlemen who had taken part against him in these dreadful intestine troubles.

When he had satisfied his appetite for vengeance in Moray, he crossed over the Spey into Banffshire, with all his arms, ammunition, baggage, and the goods which his men had accumulated by plunder; and, quartering himself at Birkenbog, the house of a noted Covenanter, he dispersed his men into quarters among the neighbouring towns and villages. During the few days which he spent

there, he caused the town of Cullen, which had been plundered two months before, to be completely burnt and destroyed, by way of reprisal upon its chief proprietor, the Earl of Finlater; and he now subjected to the same fate such lands of the Viscount Frendraught as had formerly escaped his vengeance. He also caused the town and lands of Tombeg to be burnt, being occupied by one William Forbes, who was obnoxious to him, although the property of an indifferent man, the Laird of Monymusk.³

On the very day when Hurry was defeated at Auldearn, his coadjutor Baillie was coming over Cairn-a-mount, to join force with him for the resistance of the common enemy. This general had just been executing an order of the Committee of Estates, which commanded him to ravage Athole in the manner Montrose had just ravaged Moray, by way of at once avenging the injuries the royalist general had inflicted upon the Covenanters, and diverting his troops away to the protection of their own country. He laid siege to the castle of Blair, in which Montrose had deposited the prisoners and spoil taken at the battle of Inverlochy, but without success. When he had completely burnt and plundered the undefended country, and learned that the Highlanders were coming from Montrose's camp to its rescue, he crossed over the hills to Kirriemuir and Fettercairn; from thence to Birse, where, as Spalding records, his troopers "ate up the green-growing corn, scarcely come to the blade;" and then, by the Cairn-a-mount, to Cromar, in the county of Aberdeen. His force at this time consisted of two thousand foot and a hundred horse, mostly soldiers of discipline and experience; but he was here obliged by his constituents, the

Committee of Estates, to send back two regiments for their defence in the low country, and to accept some raw recruits in exchange. He attempted, by setting the pulpits a-thundering, to raise the country people in his favour; but without the least success. In addition to all other disadvantages, he was embarrassed and perplexed in every movement he made, by the ignorant Sub-committee of Estates which attended him.

Learning, while at Cromar, the issue of the battle of Auldearn, he rose from his camp, upon the 19th of May, and marched forward, intending to try his fortune in battle against the royal general, or at least to protect the country from his ravages, and the wreck of Hurry's army from his further attacks. He had now very peremptory orders from the Committee of Estates to hazard a battle with Montrose; that body having lately become acutely sensible of the disrepute which their repeated defeats brought on them in England, and finding, moreover, that, even in their own country, notwithstanding all the religious and civil coercion they could exert over the people, their character of infallibility was beginning to desert them, while they themselves were fast verging to a predicament of the greatest personal danger. Baillie himself had sufficient generalship to see the danger of presenting his scanty, raw, and dispirited troops, against an army of such experience and confidence as that of Montrose. But the cry of the civilians who governed him, was loud and incessant for battle, and he was obliged, however reluctantly, to grant them their desire.

Marching forward, therefore, towards Strabogie, he encamped at a place called Cochlarachie, from whence he could easily discern Montrose's army,

encamped, and apparently ready to meet him, at a place of advantage among some enclosures and other defences in the neighbourhood of that town. He judged that the enemy was nearly equal to him in numbers.⁹ That night he was joined by General Hurry with a hundred horse, who, to reach him, had had to come through Montrose's very lines; a danger, however, which they successfully overcame by pretending to be part of Lord Gordon's cavalry. Next morning, when he expected to have had an encounter with Montrose, he was surprised to find that the whole army had disappeared from their position, and were in full retreat up Strathspey.

The truth is, Montrose was at this period even weaker than he had been at Auldearn, having had to send away Alaster MacCol to the Highlands, to bring back the Athole and other clans; so that he had few men with him, besides his unfailing Irish and the Gordon militia. For the purpose of forming as early a junction as possible with his absent troops, he thought it advisable to retire from before Baillie, and pitch his camp in some secure place about the head of the strath, where he would have his back to the Highlands, and be at the same time effectually protected in front. Rising through the night, he went directly south towards Balveny. He was followed in the morning, but at some distance, by Baillie and his army. About the evening, the pursuing troops came within sight of the fugitives at Glenlivet; but Montrose, by a forced march, encamped that night about ten miles ahead of them. Next morning the Covenanters, isolated in a country inimical to their cause, found it impossible to procure intelligence of the route which Montrose had taken beyond this point; and it was

only by observing the direction in which the heather and grass lay upon the ground, that they at length conjectured he had gone to the great forest of Abernethy.¹⁰ They followed him thither ; but on next coming within sight of his desultory and incalculable bands, they had the mortification of finding him entrenched in a position, which, on account of rock, wood, and water united, was totally inaccessible. Montrose had selected a place where he could command the whole district of Badenoch in his rear, so as to draw unfailing supplies of provisions from it, and to receive in good time, without annoyance, the Highlanders, whom he expected MacCol to bring speedily down for him from the same district, and from Athole. The situation which Baillie assumed before him, was, on the contrary, destitute of provisions, and especially of grass for his cavalry.¹¹

It accordingly happened, that after both armies had lain thus opposed to each other for several days, Baillie found himself under the necessity of retiring back to a more civilized district, and for the present giving up his unprofitable pursuit of the royal army. Marching northward to Inverness, he was there able to recruit his commissariat ; after which, having crossed the Spey in boats at its mouth, he progressed to Aberdeenshire, and encamped at Newton, in the Garioch. Montrose then projected and executed, by way of interlude, a descent upon the Lowlands of Perthshire.

He penetrated to the castle of Newtyle, in Angus, undisturbed by Baillie, who lay far behind him, and anticipating an easy triumph over the Earl of Crawford, who now lay at the distance of only a few miles, with a new army, chiefly formed of draughts from the old, which the Estates had

thought proper to place there for the protection of the Lowlands and the seat of government, an attack upon which was at this period the chief subject of their dread. But, when just on the point of marching to surprise and fight this force, intelligence suddenly overtook him that Baillie was ravaging the lands of the Gordons with all his might; and he was all at once obliged to return to Aberdeenshire, for the purpose of protecting that valuable and friendly district. On his march back, learning that Baillie had lately been still farther weakened and embarrassed than before by his foolish constituents, he resolved at length to approach him and offer battle.

On the last day of June the two armies met near the kirk of Keith, in the north of Aberdeenshire. Baillie was posted there on advantageous ground, where he could not be assailed without great risk. When Montrose learned the peculiarities of his position he sent him a message, offering to fight with him a set battle on fair ground. But the Covenanting general answered, that he would not receive an order to fight from an enemy.¹² Montrose then retired towards the river Don, which he crossed by the boat of Forbes, apparently designing to fall back once more upon the Lowlands.

This ruse had the desired effect. Baillie was then obliged, by the managing committee, to proceed instantly in pursuit. He had previously been so much dispirited by their absurd interference with his proceedings, and by their draining his ranks of the disciplined men, that he had offered to resign his command. Even now it was rather from a feeling that it would be dishonourable to desert them at the worst, than from any other

cause, that he continued in his charge. It may accordingly be conjectured, that in the battle about to take place, with inferior numbers to the enemy, and soldiers of much worse quality, he stood but an indifferent chance of success.

It was on the 2d of July, (1645,) that the two armies again appeared before each other. Montrose had taken up his position on a small hill behind the village of Alford, with a marsh to defend his rear. He had with him the greater part of the Gordons, (foot and horse,) the whole of the Irish, the clan of the Macdonells of Glengarry, under its chieftain, Angus MacVich Alaster; part of Clanranald's men; the Macphersons of Badenoch; and some small septs from Athole;¹³ the whole amounting to about three thousand. Baillie, on the other hand, had only about thirteen hundred foot, many of them raw men, with a few troops of Lord Balcarras's and Colonel Halket's horse regiments, amounting in number to two hundred and sixty. The battle of Alford, now about to take place, was, therefore, the first engagement Montrose had with his enemies, in which he exceeded them in numerical force.

Before the enemy had yet appeared in sight, or crossed the river Don, which ran at about a mile's distance in his front, Montrose marshalled his men in order for battle, giving the command of his right wing to Lord Gordon and Sir Nathaniel; that of his left to the Earl of Aboyne and Sir William Rollock; and of his *main battle*, to the chieftain of Glengarry, Drummond of Balloch, and a clansman of his own, named George Graham, who was his master of the camp, and an officer of some experience. He then rode forward with a troop of horse to the ordinary ford over the Don, to make

his observations upon the Presbyterian army as it approached. While waiting there, he was informed by a scout that the enemy was marching with precipitate haste to a ford about two miles farther up the river ; by crossing which, they seemed to expect that they might get behind and cut off the retreat of the royal army, which, it was known, they still supposed to be flying southwards before them.¹⁴ Montrose then returned to his position, not altogether resolved upon battle, but intending, it would appear, to be determined by circumstances.

It is somewhat singular, that on this occasion neither party had resolved upon a full encounter, yet both were drawn into it by contingencies respectively affecting each. The circumstance which provoked the battle on Montrose's side, was the Gordons seeing the whole of the cattle of Strabogie and the Enzie impelled before the approaching host of the Covenanters, and being thereby moved to rush forward at once for the rescue of their property, and to revenge the insolence of those who had robbed them. As they approached, Baillie's men ensconced themselves and the cattle in some folds or other enclosures, from whence letting fly a *salvee*¹⁵ of shot at the Gordons, they had the good fortune to bring down a considerable number. Montrose, then perceiving the assailants to be staggered by their reception, and fearing that they might be overpowered, resolved at once upon entering into battle with his whole force. In the first place, however, he commanded the Gordons to fall back in sham retreat, so as to seduce the Covenanters from their position ; and it was only when they had left the folds upon that temptation, that he joined with them in hearty and general conflict.¹⁶

Baillie, on his part, according to his own declaration, was only induced eventually to enter into pitched battle with Montrose, by the circumstance of Lord Balcarras having rushed forward too precipitately with the cavalry, and thereby got himself involved in a dilemma, from which nothing could rescue him but the advance and support of the whole army. The two circumstances, as variously related by the authorities just quoted, do not tally very well, yet it is quite possible that they may both be correct, though they probably happened at an interval of time and place.

When the two armies were, to use the phrase of the times, *buckled* in full encounter, they both alike fought with great spirit and perseverance, neither party giving the least way to the other for a considerable time. And in this matter Baillie's army must be allowed to have had greater honour than that of Montrose, for his lines were only three men deep, while Montrose's stood six in file.¹⁷ The fight was conducted with peculiar spirit on the left of Baillie's army, where Lord Balcarras, with two squadrons, bore the charge of Montrose's superior and more numerous cavalry, and also the fire of the expert musketeers, whom the royalist general had, as usual, mingled with his horse. At length, however, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon called out to these footmen, "Come, my brave fellows, throw down your useless guns, and attack these lubberly horse hand to hand; sheathe your swords in the horses' bellies, hamstring them, cut down the men, or do any thing else you like that will kill or wound." A tough and desperate conflict then ensued, horse and men commingling with each other in a way perfectly extraordinary, the footmen insinuating themselves everywhere, even

under the horses' bellies, and dealing wounds upon the poor animals, which either brought them down upon their riders, or sent them wildly raging off the field. In the language of the Clanranald bard, "the men were upon one another's tops." In the extremity of the confusion, "Alexander, son of Ronald, son of Allan," says the same writer, (who, with Allan Og, son of MacVich Alaster (Glen-garry) commanded the Clanranald,) "as he himself afterwards declared, stood for some time in the midst of the throng, with his drawn sword in his hand, not knowing how to strike a stroke, as he could not distinguish friend from foe." The Covenanting horse then began to recoil from an encounter in which they were so ill-matched. Bailie no sooner perceived them wavering, than he sent his remaining squadron of horse to their support; but that troop chose only to rank up behind their distressed comrades, instead of going forward, as they ought to have done, to relieve them of the press of battle. And the consequence was, that, when the two distressed troops gave way, the third also broke and fled.

The battle was then in a manner decided; for the Gordons were enabled, by the retreat of Baillie's horse, to sweep round upon his main body, and even attack it in rear. Lord Gordon himself was so confident and so forward, that he promised his men to bring them the Presbyterian general by the neck from the midst of his remaining troops; and he had actually seized Baillie by the shoulder-belt to drag him from his horse, when unfortunately a ball hit him in a mortal part, and prostrated him among the horses' feet.¹⁸ This circumstance, however, though itself so much to be lamented, was perhaps only productive of a more immediate decision of fortune

in favour of the royal arms ; for the Gordons were so much infuriated by it, that they could set no bounds to their vehemence in attacking and cutting down the Covenanting troops ; most of whom, then losing all hope of success, followed the example of their horse by running away.

At the very moment when Baillie's lines were wavering under the attack of the Gordons, Montrose decided the day effectually, by bringing up a reserve, which he had established under the charge of his nephew the Master of Napier, behind the hill which formed his original position. At sight of this body, to which the camp-boys united themselves on their swifter horses, and which therefore had a formidable appearance as it came down the hill, the Covenanters fled *en masse*, unable to contend with the troops which were already surrounding them, but much more inadequate to face what seemed to them a new army. A prodigious slaughter then took place upon or near the ground ; for many detached bodies of the vanquished army stood and fought till they were to a man cut down ; while others could by no means escape the infuriate cavalry of the Gordons, eager as these were to revenge the death of their commander. Even in the flight, which spread far and near, almost all the foot were overtaken and slain ; not ~~one~~ of the pursuers turning, if we are to believe the Clannald chronicle, till there was not a man to be seen anywhere upon his legs. It was with the greatest difficulty that Baillie and other chief officers escaped : the Marquis of Argyle, who had been present at the battle as one of the managing committee, only saved himself from the eager pursuit of the chieftain of Glengarry, by his good fortune in procuring a change of horses at three different places.¹⁹

While Baillie lost by this engagement almost the whole of his infantry and a great portion of even his horse, Montrose suffered, as usual, a very considerable damage; Mowat of Balwholly, Ogilvy of Milton, and an Irish captain of the name of Dickson, with a very small number of private men,²⁰ forming the whole list of slain which he had to add to the lamented name of Lord Gordon. The death of this last mentioned individual, however, was in itself the severest blow he had received during the whole course of the war. "It seemed," says Bishop Wishart, "to eclipse the whole glory of the present victory. As the report spread among the soldiers, every one seemed to be struck dumb with the melancholy news. But their grief soon burst through all restraint; and, in voices full of lamentation and sorrow, they began to exclaim against heaven and earth, for bereaving their king, the kingdom, and themselves, of so excellent a person. In the extremity of their distress, unmindful of both victory and plunder, they thronged around the body of their dead captain; some weeping over his wounds and kissing his lifeless limbs; whilst others praised his comely appearance even in death, and extolled his noble mind, which was enriched with every noble quality appropriate to his high birth and ample fortune. They even cursed the victory which was bought at so dear a rate."

CHAPTER IV.

BATTLE OF KILSYTH.

————— And, as a herd
Of goats, or timorous flock, together throng'd,
Drove them before him, thunder-struck.

MILTON.

A FORTNIGHT before their loss at Alford, the Covenanted government had been cheered by intelligence of the decisive victory obtained by the English parliamentary forces over the king at Naseby. Notwithstanding, therefore, the severity of this their fifth defeat at home, and although the plague was now ravaging their capital with almost unexampled violence, they still resolved to bear up against the recusant who so long and so nearly had threatened to overwhelm them: they resolved to make at least one last effort to rescue the tabernacle which they were so painfully rearing, and which, after having escaped a thousand external and foreign dangers, seemed now about to be destroyed, as it were, by one of its own builders.

When Baillie, Balcarras, Argyle, and other fugitive officers and noblemen, reached the Low Country, to which they fled after the battle of Alford, they found that the Scottish parliament had been

obliged to meet at Stirling, instead of Edinburgh, on account of the pestilence. Repairing to that city, they were all very graciously received by their constituents; who, sitting down for the first time on the 8th of July, immediately voted their thanks to General Baillie, but in a more particular manner to Lord Balcarras, the nobleman who had led on the horse with so much vigour and resolution at the late battle. They continued Baillie in his place; for although General Hurry had endeavoured to prejudice them against him,¹ and though they conceived his conduct to have been all along too indecisive and cautious, they were perhaps sensible that they could not at present procure a more experienced commander. Baillie was not unconscious of the equivocal nature of his situation, or of the aspersions which had been thrown upon him, and offered with great frankness to stand an open trial for his conduct; but they professed perfect satisfaction with him, and the very next day, having renewed his commission, sent him off to assume command of the army which they were rendezvousing at Perth.

The *nucleus* of this army was formed by that which has been already mentioned as lying in Angus under the charge of the Earl of Crawford, together with the few troops of horse which had made good their escape from Alford. In order to increase it to the amount of ten thousand men, which they now calculated as the least that was sufficient to reduce Montrose, they issued edicts to all the Lowland counties, commanding them to raise every fourth fencible man, and to send the result to Perth on or before the 24th of July. The pestilence (which had come from Newcastle to Edinburgh by the way of Kelso) having now also

begun to appear in Stirling, they resolved to adjourn themselves to the city where the army was appointed to meet; and there they accordingly sat down on the 24th; having previously caused the General Assembly to appoint a fast for the sins and misfortunes of the land, which was to be held throughout the whole kingdom, and to continue for four days.

Montrose in the meantime had marched to Aberdeen, to bury his lamented friend, Lord Gordon. While lying in that city, he dispatched a party northward to the remote and peninsular district of Buchan, which had never yet been passed through or ravaged by any army, on account of its good fortune in lying out of the way. It was now despoiled of all the horses that could be found in it, Montrose being particularly anxious for a supply of these animals, in order to form a body of cavalry. It was also deliberated at this time, that as the Marquis of Huntly now professed willingness to join the royal army, his son, the Earl of Aboyne, should go northward to his place of refuge in Strathnaver, with two thousand men, to serve as a convoy for bringing him through the midst of the inimical clans, and the Covenanting garrison of Inverness, who might otherwise arrest or destroy him. But the intelligence which immediately afterwards reached Montrose, of the mighty preparations made against him at Perth, obliged him to abandon for the present all thoughts of that enterprise, and to bend his whole force in another direction.

He now marched to the little town of Fordoun in Kincardineshire, and, having there pitched his camp, waited for some time till his faithful friend, MacCol should bring in his Highland auxiliaries.

The major-general had now been absent nearly two months on his recruiting expedition, and had missed one battle ; but when he did come, it fortunately was with such an accession of force, as fully compensated all the time and trouble they had cost him, as well as his non-enjoyment of Alford. He brought with him no fewer than seven hundred Macleans from Argyleshire and the Western Islands—men, it is true, who had not before been in action, but who perhaps made up for that by the ferocious hatred which they bore to the Campbells, and, by consequence, to all their political allies. He had also mustered once more the whole of Clanranald, to the amount of five hundred men, at the head of whom was the great warrior, John Muidartach, so well remembered at this day in the Highlands for his warlike exploits. The Athole Highlanders came in full force, under the immediate command of Colonel Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie, Montrose's cousin ; as also the Macgregors and Macnabs, the Stewarts of Appin, the Farquharsons of Braemar, and many other clans of smaller number or inferior note. " When they reached the camp, they were made heartily welcome by Montrose, and by all the rest, and each clan was set in order by itself."²

The Clanranald bard relates a circumstance referring to this period, which, as it is highly characteristic of the Highlanders, may very properly be related here. It must only be premised, that all the Highland clans that had lately reached the camp, instead of depending for subsistence upon the Low Country they were invading, had brought with them from the inimical districts they happened to pass, a stock of provisions sufficient to maintain them for some time in camp. Montrose hap-

pening to observe that John Muidartach was the only exception from this rule, and the tale of scandal being borne to the ears of that chieftain by a common soldier, who had heard it repeated by MacCol, the Highlander, not at all indignant at Montrose for commenting upon his conduct, but only vexed at being reproached for remissness on such a score, flung himself instantly out of his tent, and, calling for Donald his son, told him to rise immediately, prepare his men, and none but his own men, then go forth and bring in a spoil to the king's camp. The young man, with very little farther preparation than only learning what lands his father wished him to spoil, went off upon his mission; and such was the rigour and success with which he executed it, that it was afterwards universally acknowledged that he had brought more provisions to the camp than any other chief! Indeed, says my authority, John Muidartach's spoil was in itself sufficient to maintain the army all the time it lay in camp.

The bard relates, as a subsidiary anecdote, that when young Donald was ranging through the country on this singular expedition, "an honourable old man met him, who told him many things, and, among the rest, that the Mearns had not been spoiled before, since Donald of the Isles spoiled it, when he fought the battle of Harlaw; 'and I suppose, young gentleman,' said this old man, 'you are descended of him, if you be the captain of Clanranald.'"

About the end of the month of July, Montrose adopted the resolution of marching down upon Perth, where he understood the parliament was then assembled, hoping to be able, with his present forces, which mustered between five and six

thousand strong, to disperse their army before it had reached its full strength, and even perhaps to surround and cut off the whole members of the insurgent government, while they were sitting in the very act and place of their rebellion. To execute such a purpose he was only deficient in horse, which were necessary for the protection of his foot when they should descend into a plain country; but, by leaving Aboyne, in Aberdeenshire, and Airly, in Angus, to raise all the remaining loyal gentlemen of these districts, he hoped that he might obtain a sufficient supply of that species of force, before he should be ready to debouche from the Highlands. Having, therefore, dispatched these noblemen on their recruiting expeditions, with orders to follow him in all haste, he left Fordoun, marched through Blairgowrie to Dunkeld, there crossed the Tay, and, finally, drawing a circuit round the position of the enemy, encamped at Amulree. The parliamentary army had in the meantime assembled in considerable force on the south side of the Erne, while four hundred horse lay close to the town, as an immediate guard upon the Estates.

Rather to try the spirit and make observations upon the numbers of his enemies, than with any intention of engaging them, Montrose thought proper, one day, to advance from Amulree to the wood of Methven, where he was only five miles from Perth. The scouts of the Covenanters then retired into the town, reporting, with absurd alarm, that he was on the point of assaulting it, and conjuring the Estates to rise and provide for their safety by flight. Fortunately for their credit, these stern enthusiasts had the resolution to sit still. They only conceived it necessary to draw their

army more closely around them. Montrose, next day, appeared before their very gates with his slender troop of horse, which only consisted of about a hundred real cavaliers, all the rest being mere footmen on baggage-horses. They were imposed upon by his specious appearance, and did not dare to send a party against him. He even crossed over the Erne at Dupplin, and took a leisurely survey of their infantry, without experiencing any annoyance from them; although, if aware of his real strength, they might then have easily cut off his retreat to his camp. The very boldness of his proceedings proved his safe-guard; for they conceived that he never could make such movements unless confident of their safety.

Neither party was yet disposed to come to battle; for, while Montrose thought it necessary to wait for the cavalry which he expected Aboyne and Airly to bring to him, the Covenanters judged it quite as expedient to delay till they should be joined by certain regiments which were now in march to their leaguer, from the south and west of Scotland. At length, after Montrose had insulted them for several days from his position at Methven, being strengthened to a great degree by three regiments from Fife, and learning that the enemy was not so strong in the article of horse as he appeared, they moved forward to offer him battle. Montrose, however, had only to withdraw into the mountainous country behind him, in order to set them at defiance. Pretending, by the arrangement of his troops, that he was willing to encounter them, he sent off the whole of his baggage towards Amulree, then dispatched the weakest of his troops in the same direction; lastly, when he thought they would be safe, he broke up his whole army from

before the face of the enemy, and deployed into the hills, only taking care to leave his horse and best musketeers in the rear, to defend the passes and protect his retreat. Baillie sent his horse in pursuit, under General Hurry ; but that commander, by a treacherous or at least unnecessary delay in crossing the Powe, only reached the fords of the Almond at the same time that his commanding officer arrived with the foot, when it was much too late to do any serious execution upon the retiring host.³ Still, a band of about three hundred of the Presbyterian cavalry, consisting probably of volunteer zealots, continued the pursuit. At every successive pass which Montrose thought it necessary to defend, these gentlemen came furiously up, and attempted to dislodge the men. They were generally checked, and even a considerable number of them were brought from their saddles, by the well-directed sharp-shooting of the fugitives. But they nevertheless held on with great spirit. There was one, in particular, a man of the name of Cornell, supposed (says Neil MacVourich) to be the principal champion of Scotland, who led a little party, and gave peculiar annoyance to the retreat. At every place of difficulty, this man was sure to gallop up, and make a brisk charge upon the guard which Montrose had planted to defend it. He even succeeded so far as to seize three or four of the baggage-horses. At length, proceeds the Clanranald bard, " Angus, the son of Allan Dhu, who rode behind all his party, on a horse which had neither saddle nor pillion, but with only a long gun tied before him, eyed this bold hero, lighted off his horse, set his gun upon a stone, and shot the champion of the red apparel, who fell under his horse's feet, with all his crape, silver, and finery.

His men gave a sorrowful cry, when they saw their leader fall, and did not venture to molest them any more that day."

Baillie's troops retired, after a fruitless pursuit, to the camp which Montrose had vacated at Methven, where, if Wishart is to be relied on for such a piece of information, they avenged the fatigue and disappointment of the day by killing a few women and children whom the Irish had left behind them. The sacred army was now in a most deplorable condition. Its commander, disgusted by the mean suspicions of his employers, distracted by their various counsels, and prevented by their absurd and impertinent meddling from ever taking one soldier-like step, could scarcely be prevailed upon to retain his office even for a single day. The component parts of the army itself were crude, ill assorted, and many of them extremely indisposed to the service. Not a few of the late levies, including the whole of the three Fife regiments, actually left the camp, after returning to Methven, and went home; the terror of Montrose, it would appear, fairly overcoming all sense of duty. Even those that remained, from their utter inexperience, not to speak of their irresolution, were totally unfit to meet or keep up a mortal struggle with men so confident and so inured to battle as Montrose's warriors. It may be thought that, under the present circumstances, nothing could have kept the army together in any respectable numbers, had not the ministers, the unfailing irrepressible ministers, exerted themselves with extraordinary vigour to do so.

Montrose had retired to Little Dunkeld, where he encamped, in order to spend the time till he should receive the levies which he expected Aboyne

and Airly to bring to him.⁴ When these two noblemen arrived, the general was somewhat disappointed to find that they had not been so successful as he originally hoped; Aboyne only bringing two hundred regular cavalry, with sixty footmen mounted on carriage-horses; while the venerable Airly was attended by no more than eighty cavaliers. This accession, however, though small in number, was of excellent quality: Aboyne's horsemen were the same who had contributed so materially to the victories of Auldearn and Alford; and those whom the Earl of Airly had brought were all gentlemen of his own family and name, who bore the most ardent affection to the cause, and some of whom had considerable experience.

Every thing considered, Montrose had never had so hopeful a chance of victory as at the present juncture. Throughout the whole of his campaign, up to this time, there had been a plurality of inimical armies, to distract him in his movements, and produce diversions of his men; and he never yet had found it possible to concentrate his energies upon any one point. Now, having crushed Argyle, and thereby relieved the Highlanders from sentinelship upon their own lands; having cut several small disciplined armies to pieces, and thereby released the Gordons in the same manner; now, having at length brought together the whole of his friends and adherents, and gathered himself up for one last decisive blow, he might be said to have arrived at a pitch of advantage, and strength, and greatness, which he had never before reached, or could have hoped to reach; the very summit of his desperate and altogether wonderful enterprise. The numbers of his army at this period have been very variously calculated; but they probably reach-

ed five thousand foot and five hundred horse; a host which, considering the individual character of the men, seemed fully qualified to annihilate the huge mass of undisciplined and timid militia which the parliament had to oppose to him.

He had accordingly no sooner been joined by his Aberdeenshire and Angus cavalry, than he thought proper to move once more down into the Lowlands, for the purpose of offering battle to the Covenanters, whose troops he thought he might now advance against with the greater confidence, in as much as he understood that their men were daily deserting, and their general on the point of throwing up his command. On his appearing in Logie Almond, the enemy retired from Methven, and encamped at Kilgraston, on the south side of the river Erne. He then drew a circuit round them, and, crossing the Erne by the bridge at Nethergask, about eight miles farther up the stream, suddenly appeared before them at the Kirk of Drone. He was then two miles to the south of their leaguer, and of course fairly betwixt them and that valued district from which they had so long endeavoured to exclude him, and which it was their present purpose to defend. He did not, however, take immediate advantage of his position, but hung for two or three days over their camp in a threatening attitude, they in the meantime exerting themselves with might and main to entrench themselves against his attack. When he saw that they could not be brought to fight, and that at the same time it would be dangerous to storm them in so strong a situation, he marched southward to Kinross; hoping, perhaps, either to draw them into a place where he could attack them to advantage, or to escape them altogether, and so make

his way into England. Baillie, with the consent of the field committee,⁵ followed him by Lindores, Rossie, and Burleigh ; upon which march the three Fife regiments again joined him.

From Kinross, Montrose suddenly turned his march westward to Stirling bridge, for the purpose of getting over the Forth into the southern district of Scotland. As he passed down the pleasant vale of the Devon, the Macleans, who have already been mentioned as forming so numerous a body in his army, burnt Castle Campbell, the chief Lowland seat of the Argyle family, as also all the houses, of whatsoever sort, in the two parishes of Dollar and Muckhart, being the property of the vassals of that family.⁶ This was in requital of similar injuries which the marquis and his chieftains had perpetrated upon the country of the Macleans, who are an adjacent, and have always been a hostile clan to the Campbells.⁷ But there were two strange cases of exception from the general fate awarded to this unfortunate district : one house in the village of Dollar was saved, on account of a mistaken supposition that it belonged to the Abbey of Dunfermline, and another, upon the extremity of the parish of Muckhart, from a notion that it stood in the parish of Fossaway. The reader may smile to observe that spoilers of this description, in violating the interests of man to such an inhuman degree, should have preserved a respect for what they considered the property of God,⁸ and that, in performing devastation on so wide a scale, they should have regarded minute parochial distinctions with such considerate accuracy.

On the evening of his march from Kinross, he quartered his army in the wood of Tillibody, near

Alloa ; which town, as even a cavalier historian⁹ owns, the Irish "did barbarously plunder." He and his chief officers were here entertained at dinner in a sumptuous style by the Earl of Mar and Lord Erskine ; who, though no doubt offended at the devastations of the Irish in their town and lordship, seem to have been nevertheless disposed as much by loyal feeling as by fear, to show civility to the king's servants.

The pestilence alone saved Stirling from the visit and spoliation to which, as a zealous Covenanting town, it would have now in all probability been subjected by Montrose. Afraid to approach it, he did not cross the Forth by its celebrated bridge, but, marching eight miles farther up, passed through the fords of the Frew, so remarkable for the transit which Prince Charles Stuart made a century afterwards over the river at the same place. He then drew his army through the hilly grounds in the centre of Stirlingshire, apparently designing to fall down upon Glasgow, which was the only considerable town in the south of Scotland now free of the plague. But, before executing that purpose, he was overtaken by Baillie at Kilsyth, and obliged to come to an engagement.

The Covenanting army had marched close upon his track down Glendevon, at the distance of about a day's march behind. In passing along, the Marquis of Argyle, upon his own responsibility, caused his men to burn Menstrie House, the seat of the Earl of Stirling, (secretary to King Charles,) and Airthrie, the property of Sir John Graham of Braco, uncle to Montrose, in revenge for the conflagration of his own house and estate by the Macleans. He also sent a message to the Earl of Mar, informing him that, on the return of the

army, his house of Alloa should endure the same fate, in expiation of the hospitality which he had shown to the great public enemy.

While the army was on this march, it was resolved that the Earls of Lanark, Glencairn, and Eglintoun, should advance to the west country, where their vassals lay, and there endeavour to raise an army, which should intercept Montrose as he went southward, or drive him back for destruction upon the main body under General Baillie.

Before the army had come to Stirling bridge, it was reinforced by twelve hundred of Argyle's retainers. But here a great defection had nearly taken place. The three Fife regiments, which had already once deserted, and which had only been brought back by a fear that Montrose was about to descend upon their own district, now seeing him clear over the Forth, and far away from their property, stopped short at the bridge, and could upon no account be prevailed upon by their officers to proceed farther. These men, according to Bishop Wishart, were well enough inclined to the cause, there being perhaps no district in Scotland which had acted with such uniform zeal for the Covenant as Fife; but they were men of peaceful habits—generally shop-keepers or artizans, and many of them fishermen and sailors who had scarcely ever before done duty or business of any sort upon shore. They had also an ominous recollection of the slaughter which Montrose had, less than a twelvemonth before, committed at Tippermuir upon their friends and countrymen. Every thing considered, it is scarcely to be wondered at that three thousand men, who had been called to form about the third of an army for the defence of all Scotland, though only themselves having a minute

fractional interest in it, should pause before venturing themselves upon an expedition at once so pregnant with danger, and in the object of which they had so little concern.

But whatever might be the prudential sentiments of these poor men, they were not destined to stand proof against a sentiment of a different nature which was now put into operation. The leaders of the three various regiments (the Lairds of Cambo, Ferny, and Fordel) perceiving that, in the extremity to which things had arrived, nothing could prevail with them but the fervour of religion, thought proper to command the ministers who had accompanied them from their respective parishes, to go through their ranks, and, by preaching, praying, and the use of their great personal influence, oblige them "to go out to the help of the Lord against the mighty." It might truly be said in the present case that *arma cesserunt togæ*; for what the military word of command had altogether failed to do, was effectually performed by these sacred and esteemed persons. Fairly overcome by the "jolly tales," as Guthry calls them, of their clergy, and assured, moreover, that they should be discharged in a day or two, on the westland army coming up under Lanark and his coadjutors, the unhappy Fife men, in number about three thousand, went devotedly on to the fatal field from which so few of them were destined to return.

While they had been standing irresolute on the north side of the Forth, an incident took place on the south side, at head-quarters, which showed that the very general of this ill-starred army was himself inclined to desert the cause. To let him speak for himself, his own narrative may be quoted. "A little above the park, (that is, the King's

Park at Stirling,) I halted until the Fife regiments were brought up, hearing that the rebels were marched towards Kilsyth. After the upcoming of those regiments, the Marquis of Argyle, Earl of Crawford, and Lord Burleigh, and, if I mistake not, the Earl of Tulliebardine, the Lords Elcho and Balcarras, with some others, came up. My lord marquis asked me what was next to be done. I answered, the direction should come from his lordship and those of the committee. My lord demanded, what reason was for that? I answered, I found myself so slighted in every thing belonging to a commander-in-chief, that, for the short time I was to stay with them, I would absolutely submit to their direction, and follow it. The marquis desired me to explain myself; which I did in three particulars, sufficiently known to my lord marquis and the other lords and gentlemen then present. I told his lordship, (1,) Prisoners of all sorts were exchanged without my knowledge; the traffickers therein received passes from others, and sometimes passing within two miles of me, did neither acquaint me with their business, nor, at their return, where, or in what posture, they had left the enemy: (2,) While I was present, others did sometimes undertake the command of the army: (3, And how severe is the sarcasm implied against Argyle!) Without either my order or knowledge, fire was raised, and that destroyed which might have been a recompense to some good deserver, for which I would not be answerable to the public. All which things considered, I should in any thing freely give my own opinion, but follow the judgment of the committee, and the rather because that was the last day of my undertaking."¹⁰

To understand fully the meaning of this strange

collision, the reader must be made aware that, after returning from the ineffectual chase of Montrose across the Almond, Baillie, fairly disgusted with the suspicions and aspersions to which his name was exposed, resigned his place into the hands of Parliament, and was only with the greatest difficulty prevailed on to continue a fortnight longer in command without commission; of which period, it appeared the last day was now arrived. Having, even upon this last march, received additional cause of offence; having, as would seem, been deprived of the most common privileges of a commander, by the impertinent superiors with whom he was saddled, and had his honourable soldierly mind shocked by the private revenges which one of these personages conceived himself at liberty to wreak out by the assistance of the army upon his own account; he had at length come to that state of feeling upon the subject, which men only know when despair and disgust have united to render them indifferent to all results. He may have still retained a lingering hope of success in the conflict about to take place; but the predominant feeling in his mind must have been that one most annoying to a professional soldier like him, and consequently most ominous of evil fortune in his case, that, even though he were to do his duty with never so much zeal and accuracy, its proper effects would be defeated, and he, in either result, would not get his due share of credit.

It being determined by the committee at the King's Park, that the army should approach Montrose, it was led forward that day (August 14) by General Baillie, to Denny, where it crossed the Carron, and from thence forward to a place called Hollanbush, about four miles east of Kilsyth,

where it was encamped for the night. Next morning the Marquis of Argyle, who had lingered all night at Stirling, crossed over the hills, and passing the Carron by a ford near Buckieburn, which still bears his name, came up to the camp.¹¹ His lordship immediately went into the general's tent, and inquiring, "What of the rebels?" was informed by Baillie that they were lying at Kilsyth. "May we not advance nearer them?" asked the marquis. Baillie answered that the army was near enough to them if it was not to fight them, and pointed out to his lordship the difficulty of the ways through which they would have to make any advance.

But the better sense of this commander, which told him the peculiar hazard of assailing Montrose in his advantageous position over so rough a country, and which showed to him the general absurdity of fighting with an enemy at the very moment when reinforcements were expected, was lost upon Argyle; and, some other members of the committee being called and consulted, it was resolved, against the will of the general, that they should proceed immediately and directly to battle. The army was then dragged through the corn-fields and over the *braes*, towards Kilsyth, on the hills above which they understood Montrose's men lay awaiting them.

When the royalist general saw the immense hosts of the enemy moving slowly and with difficulty through the country below him, he felt such a tide of joy rush through his breast, as a soldier of his character might be supposed to experience when suddenly assured of a victory which shall give him possession of a kingdom. Knowing as he did the superiority of his men, as well as of the circum-

stances under which he must fight ; assured of the rashness and foolishness under which the enemy was acting, and rejoicing in the prospect of fighting them before they should be joined by the western levies, he felt not the slightest doubt of gaining another victory ; a victory which, different from all he had yet won, would at once give him the mastery of Scotland, and by enabling him to accomplish his warmest and most ambitious wish, that of re-establishing the throne of his sovereign, make him that sovereign's greatest subject.

After a toilsome and disorderly march across the country, the Covenanting army arrived at a place near Auchincloch, two miles east from Kilsyth, where, finding it quite impossible to proceed any farther for the bogs, Baillie formed them in array, and seemed as if he would have there willingly sat down to await the attack of the enemy. But, although this position was such that twenty men could not have anywhere found an avenue of approach to his front, he was not permitted to retain it. The committee, as if resolved to disappoint him in all the cautious measures he wished to take, came up as he was marshalling the army, and pointing to a hill on the right, which was very near that on which the enemy lay, asked him if it would not be a better position. He answered, that he not only conceived that ground to be bad, but he felt assured that the enemy could, if they pleased, anticipate them in the possession of it. Their lordships requested that some competent persons might be sent to view and report upon the ground, which was done ; and in the meantime Baillie went, with Lords Elcho and Burleigh, to dress the regiments on the right. Not long after, the general, being sent for by the committee, and having

gone before them with the two lords who attended him, was informed that it was the general opinion, in consideration of the rebels being now discovered in retreat westwards, that that hill would be the most advantageous position they could assume. It was in vain that Baillie exerted himself to show the contrary; they all agreed, with the exception of Lord Balcarras, that the army should be led forward to the hill.

Baillie immediately took measures for obeying the command of his superiors. The horse and the regular soldiers, who had stood at the right of the army in its array, he ordered to face about to the right and march on in their present order, intending that, when they arrived on their new ground, they should face back to the left, and so resume their first arrangement in the briefest possible space of time, and with the greatest possible ease. The great masses of volunteer foot moved in the same way. Unfortunately, when they reached the hill, although they received no impediment or disturbance from the enemy, a great deal of confusion had taken place in their arrangement; some of the regiments assuming places, at the command of Argyle, upon which Baillie had not calculated, while certain individual soldiers took the liberty of moving altogether at their own will throughout the field; and thus, even at the moment when the battle commenced, the general was totally unable to make those comprehensive arrangements, or issue those decisive orders, which are so necessary to give an army even the chance of success in a pitched fight.¹²

Every external circumstance was, on the other hand, favourable to Montrose. He had made a deliberate choice of the ground which seemed best

sited for his own views. He had taken possession of a cluster of cottages and gardens which lay in advance of his position. He had prepared his men in the most approved manner, by refreshments and by encouraging speeches, for the encounter.

As the Covenanters were taking up their ground on the opposite hill, he sent a trumpeter to acquaint them that he was ready to give them battle; to which they answered, in their infatuation, with a shout of joy and defiance.¹³

But, although Montrose and his men had both alike expressed the strongest desire of coming to an immediate engagement, a peculiar feature was now observed in the appearance of the enemy, which at first seemed calculated to restore the balance of advantage, and therefore occasioned some depression of spirits in the royal host. The horse regiment which first took up its position opposite to them, was one of cuirassiers. When the royalists saw the breast-plates of these men glittering in the sun, they could not help expressing some reluctance to charge them, complaining that they had to fight men clad in iron, on whose persons their swords could be of no avail. Montrose soon heard the muttering which went along the line; and he no sooner heard it, than his ready genius suggested an idea, by which he might not only obviate the evil effects which it was calculated to produce, but even turn to his own advantage the circumstance which occasioned it. "Gentlemen," he said to the cavalry around him, "do you see these cowardly rascals whom you beat at Tippermuir, at Auldearn, and at Alford! Their officers, I declare, have at last found it impossible to bring them again before you, without first securing them

against your blows with coats of mail: To show our contempt of them, we'll fight them, if you please, in our shirts." ¹⁴ With that, he threw off his own coat and waistcoat, buckled up the sleeves of his shirt, and, drawing his sword with an air of peculiar resolution and ferocity, immediately stood before his army, a perfect living statue or model of all that can be conceived terrific in the appearance of a soldier. His cavalry, who heard his address, were the first to imitate his example; and from them the enthusiasm of the moment soon spread to the remoter ranks of the Highlanders and Irish. The proposal being warmly recommended by the heat of the day, it was everywhere received with applause. The horsemen contented themselves with merely taking off their upper garments, and buckling up their shirt sleeves; but the foot stripped their whole persons, even to their feet, retaining only their shirts, the skirts of which they tied betwixt their legs, while they also bared their arms to the shoulder. The people of this district of Scotland still retain a terrible remembrance of Montrose's *naked army*, which fought, they say, more like butchers than soldiers. ¹⁵

The battle commenced with a precipitate charge of some of the Covenanting horse regiments upon the cottage-gardens in which Montrose had planted his advanced guard. This was done before the foot regiments marching in the rear had come up to their places, and without any order from the general, who, according to his own account, did not think it yet time to give the proper word or sign of battle. It was occasioned by a mistaken notion which prevailed in this portion of the parliamentary army, that Montrose's men were drawing themselves off along a concealed valley to the

west. They had soon occasion to rue their rashness; for the royal musketeers fired upon them with such effect from behind their walls, that they were almost immediately obliged to turn back discomfited.

The Highlanders who stood nearest to this point, when they perceived the Covenanters retire, rushed up the hill, with the intention of assisting the advanced party; and thus a party of Montrose's troops made as grievous a mistake, by acting without orders, as had just been committed with fatal consequences by the Covenanters. But here, it must be allowed, the erring party atoned by their conduct for the impropriety of its principle. Being charged, almost immediately after they came up, by three large troops of horse, and a body of about two thousand infantry, comprehending the very flower of the Presbyterian army, they exhibited so little apprehension, as to leap over the wall which intervened between them; then, rushing forward, in a cowering posture, to avoid the bullets of the enemy, they actually met the attack of the overwhelming force which had been sent to annihilate them, face to face, and hand to hand; apparently determined to take upon themselves the whole duty of fighting the opposite army, and content that their general and companions should remain behind, as mere witnesses of their valour. The foremost man of this gallant but imprudent little party was Donald, the son of John Muidartach, the captain or chieftain of Clanranald. It is recorded of this intrepid youth, by the historian of his family,¹⁶ that, being at first behind the Macleans, he burst fairly through that tardier clan, with all his men, and, leaping a deep ditch, broke in upon the serried host opposed to him. He was

immediately followed by Patrick Macgregor, the chief of that renowned clan, (who was surnamed *Caach*, on account of his mad valour, and whose retainers on this day formed one regiment with the men of Clanranald.) The Macleans were the next who came up to the dangerous and unequal contest. MacCol went only a little behind, leading a third body, with which, on seeing the two first to be so grievously overmatched, he speedily rushed forward to their assistance.¹⁷

But all the spirit and enthusiasm of this party, even assisted as it was by their wild appearance, would have soon proved of little avail against the weighty host opposed to them, if Montrose himself had not taken measures for their relief. That general, on seeing them advance, had been much chagrined by their imprudence. Yet when once he saw them engage with such spirit, his heart could not long refuse to sympathize with and pardon an act which was dictated by a feeling so kindred to his own. Afraid, moreover, that if they should be beat back, an example of flight might be set before the eyes of his main body, he saw reason, in prudence as well as in feeling, for sending a party to their relief. Here, however, an unexpected difficulty occurred. No portion of his army seemed willing to undertake what appeared a duty of such hazard.

In this exigency, and when the fate of the Highland party, and consequently of the whole army, seemed just arriving at a crisis, Montrose accomplished his object by one of those master-strokes of military policy and address which distinguished him so much as a commander. Riding up to his faithful counsellor and friend, the Earl of Airly, who was standing at the head of his family troop,

he exclaimed, " You see, my lord, into what a hose-net these poor fellows have got themselves, by their ill-advised daring. They must certainly be trampled in the dirt by the enemy's horse, if not speedily relieved. I venture to apply to your lordship for this purpose, because the eyes of all the officers are fixed upon you, as alone worthy of such a piece of precedency, and because it seems proper that an error which has been committed by the fool-hardiness of youth, should be corrected by the veteran discretion and considerate valour of so venerable a warrior as your lordship. Forward, in the name of God ! and show these mad lads, that, clever as they think themselves, they may still be beholden occasionally to older men than themselves." Lord Airly, without a moment's hesitation, set off with his squadron of Ogilvies, to assist the over-matched Highlanders ; and with such spirit did he make the charge, that the Covenanters instantly gave back, and fortune again inclined in favour of the royalists.

When Baillie saw his men reeling, he rode backwards to the rear, where the Fife regiments, and other bodies, had been placed as a reserve, intending to bring them up to the support of the front. But these unwilling soldiers no sooner saw their horse give ground, than, thinking the day was irrecoverably lost, they broke and fled. At this moment, the main body of Montrose's army, seeing the success of the Highland party and the Ogilvies, raised a terrific shout, and dashed forward upon the remaining troops of the enemy. Depressed by the irresolution of their fellows, and terrified beyond measure by the appearance of the naked and savage-looking royalists, these troops stood no longer in a body, but, turning away from the bat-

tle, dispersed themselves in every direction over the wide irregular country behind them.

Montrose's men immediately gave chase; and, as they were in general more agile, and in fresher condition than the fugitives, they overtook them, and put them to death in great numbers. The very horse of the Covenanters, among whom the nobles and officers are said to have been foremost, did a great deal of mischief to the foot, by riding over them in their haste to escape. The number slain in the battle, on either side, was very small; but, during the chase, almost the whole six thousand foot, who had composed the Covenanting army, fell under the cruel claymore. Their horse alone escaped in any considerable numbers, the royalists being so much impeded by the slaughter of the foot, that they scarcely overtook any fugitives who had the advantage of being mounted. Among them, the officers and nobility, with hardly any exception, achieved their escape; no persons of distinction being left behind on the field, besides Sir William Murray of Blebo, a gentleman of the name of Arnot, and Colonels Dyce and Wallace, all of whom received quarter, and were honourably entertained by Montrose, who subsequently liberated them on parole. The fugitive officers chiefly fled towards Stirling, which they at first thought of attempting to hold out against the enemy, though they afterwards saw it fit to seek less conspicuous places of refuge. The Marquis of Argyle did not stop till he reached the little port of South Queensferry, upwards of twenty miles from the fatal field, where, taking boat, he got on board a vessel lying in the Frith of Forth, and immediately causing the sails to be unfurled, stood far out to the open sea. The cavalier historians,

remark, with malicious triumph, that this was the third time that his lordship had been indebted to a boat for protection from Montrose.

It would appear, from all accounts, that the carnage which followed this conflict, was by many degrees more extensive and unsparing than what had ensued upon any other of Montrose's victories. According to the Red Book of Clanranald—fit name for a record of such doings—the royalists “continued a great part of the day, pursuing and killing the enemy.” The earliest translator of Wishart, with still more emphatic simplicity of expression, says that “the victorious pursuers had *the killing of them* for fourteen miles;” a space equal to twenty-five by English measurement.¹⁸ Wishart and Guthrie make the number of the slain amount to seven thousand; and it was not probably much less. If we are to believe the writer of the statistical account of the parish, many of the peasantry were involved in the slaughter; and even at the late period when the author wrote,¹⁹ a hundred and fifty years after the event, there were still innumerable traditionary recollections among the people, of the bloody circumstances of the day. One has been particularized by the statistic: An aged countryman having fled from the scene of horror, with four sons, was overtaken by the pursuers, and, being suspected by them of having been engaged in the battle, although in reality he was innocent, they immediately hewed him down with their swords. His sons clung around him, to shield his person, or plead for mercy; but they were all cut to pieces in that very posture, and now lie interred in one tomb.²⁰

The Fife regiments, numbering about three thousand men, although placed in the rear, and the

first to retreat, suffered particularly on this fatal day. It would indeed appear, that a mere wreck or shadow of this unfortunate body returned to the country from which it had been so cruelly and basely abstracted. A remark made, seventy years after, by an aged Highlander who had been present and assisted in their slaughter, may perhaps give the reader a more vivid idea of the circumstances than any rounded detail. "It was a braw day, Kilsyth!" this veteran would say, with a grim smile; "at every stroke I gave with my broadsword that day, I cut an ell o' breeks!"²¹—alluding to the dress of his Lowland antagonists.

It is recorded, moreover, by the writer of the Statistical Account of the parish of Anstruther, in Fife, that so great an antipathy did the people of that part of the country conceive and retain for the military life, in consequence of the loss of their friends at Kilsyth, that, during a space of twenty years preceding 1790, when nearly a century and a half had intervened since the dreadful day, only one man out of the whole parish had been known to become a soldier.

The reader, when he peruses this bloody relation, may perhaps be disposed to inquire, why Montrose did not rather spare the lives of his vanquished countrymen, and content himself with merely taking them prisoners.²² The only answer which can be returned to the question, is, that having no garrisons or fortified towns in his interest, where he could dispose of prisoners, and finding that the jesuitism of his enemies taught them to consider it no wrong to break a parole with him, and even enter once more into service against him, he was *compelled* to adopt a principle of uncompromising extermination, as the only one

which promised him the ultimate mastery over the Covenanted government, at which he aimed. The whole circumstances under which he fought—his slight tenure of command over his forces, his necessity of rapid movements, his uncertain and perpetually fluctuating strength, but, more than all, his liability, and that of his men, to be seized every day and put to death as traitors, demanded that he should act in the way he did. The historians who stigmatize his proceedings with such epithets as savage and monstrous, seem to have quite forgot that, at the very beginning of the campaign, his enemies had placed him beyond the pale of honourable warfare—had reduced him, in fact, to the condition of an outlaw or a pirate—by their acts of excommunication and forfeiture. Could it be unjust—was it not, rather, perfectly fair—that an army which, if beaten, was sure to be hanged, should, when victorious, put those who threatened it with that fate to the sword?

It is, abstractly, very difficult for men sitting in the peace and security of the present century, and whose minds have only been accustomed to judge of humanity in private life, to say what is humane or what is inhumane, in a peculiar sort of warfare which obtained in a remote and barbarous age. The probability is—and the present writer, for his own part, has not the slightest doubt that such was Montrose's own sentiment upon the subject—that the unsparing plan was, under the circumstances, that which promised the speediest conclusion to the war, and which was therefore, in reality, the most humane. To show how differently, at least, many men may think upon such a question, it may be mentioned that, among the Highlanders, the descendants of the very men who

acted with what is considered such unrelenting truculence in this war, an idea very generally prevails, that Montrose was too hesitating and too humane a commander; that he even, by permitting his own generous feelings to interfere too often with matters of general policy, protracted the war to a length it would not have reached, had he been every thing which they could have wished him. "A bloody war, a short one," is a maxim which they invariably quote, when alluding to this question; and it is observable that, when they discuss the merits of the various commanders who have at different times led them to battle against the Saxon, they prefer, by many degrees, Alaster MacCol, or the Viscount Dundee, to him whom the Lowland cavaliers have agreed to designate "the great Marquis." But it is perhaps enough to settle this question in favour of Montrose, to remind the reader of what seems to be now a recognised principle in war of all descriptions, that no general who studies to spare the effusion of blood, either in his own army or that of his opponent, will ever be very brilliantly successful.²³

CHAPTER V.

BATTLE OF PHILIPHAUGH.

East.—Methinks, your looks are sad, your cheer appall'd.
Hath the late overthrow wrought this offence?
Be not dismay'd ; for succour is at hand.

Henry VI. Part I.

THE victory of Kilsyth, the last and greatest Montrose ever gained, gave him for the time possession of the whole of Scotland. As it deprived the opposite party of every thing like an army, so it completely broke up their government. Glencairn and Cassilis now fled over to Ireland; Argyle, Crawford, Lanark, and others, took refuge within the fortified walls of Berwick. Their Parliament, their General Assembly, every organ of their recently monstrous power, at once vanished ; and nothing was left behind but this red and triumphant soldier, who, as the deeds he had done were next thing to miraculous, appeared in the eyes of this superstitious people a destroying angel, commissioned by the Supreme Being to lay waste the land.¹

“ Since the days of William Wallace,” says Baillie, “ or rather since Fergus the Second, [a period of fabulous Scottish history, when the whole government was for a time dissolved,] our land was never in the present condition. * * * *
I confess,” he adds at another place, “ I am ama-

zed, and cannot see to my mind's satisfaction, the reasons of the Lord's dealing with that land. The sins of all ranks there I know to be great, and the late mercies of God, spiritual and temporal, towards them to have been many; but what means the Lord," adds this daring priest of the Scottish tabernacle, "so far from the expectation of the most clear-sighted, to humble us so low, and by his immediate hand, I confess I know not.² * * * * * This shame," he continues, "will not be put off us for an age. The English condemn us much the more: they have sent commissioners to crave Newcastle and Carlisle from us, all our places of garrisons but Berwick."³

It was the very worst result of Montrose's victory over their government, that the English, whose favour they had taken so much pains and used such unjustifiable measures to procure, and upon whom they were so anxious to impose their own favourite system of church-government, took occasion from it to hold them cheap, and even to menace them with a complete discharge from their service; which they were now the better fitted to do, that they had just gained a decided superiority over the king at the battle of Naseby, and were on that account enabled, as they thought, henceforth to cope with the cavaliers single-handed. The Independents, at least, who were at this period the greatest enemies the Scots had to contend with in their endeavours to establish Presbytery in England, entertained these views, and cherished these sentiments, without the least disguise.

The local disasters of the country were not less grievous than the political. The slaughter of Kilsyth had filled the country with lamentation. It was even judged so supereminently disastrous an

affair, that, for the first time such a thing had ever been done in Scotland, the general population went into mourning on account of it. The plague, at the same time, continued to ravage the central district of the kingdom, including the capital and other principal towns. "Never," says Baillie, "was such a pest^a seen in Scotland: That it should have trysted [made an assignation with] the enemy at that time and place, when we had most to do with Leith and Edinburgh, was evidently God's hand."

Montrose remained two days at Kilsyth to refresh his men; and during that interval, the citizens of Glasgow, who had much reason to fear his vengeance, sent two commissioners, Sir Robert Douglas and Mr Archibald Fleming, to propitiate him, by a profession of their submission to the royal authority, as represented by his person, and to beseech his mercy upon their town, which they intreated him to honour with a visit. After such a victory as that of Kilsyth, his first motion would have unquestionably been towards the capital, where, by seizing the seat of government, and turning the artillery of the state, as it were, upon the enemy which had just quitted it, he might be said to have fixed himself in his conquest, almost beyond the possibility of eradication. But, as Edinburgh was for the present unapproachable, he was obliged to content himself with seizing Glasgow; to which town, therefore, he marched on the third day after the battle.

Previously to his removal from Kilsyth, he thought proper to send Alaster MacCol, with a strong party, into Ayrshire, for the purpose of dispersing the levies which had been there made against him by the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn. At the approach of the major-general,

these two noblemen took shipping for Ireland, and their recruits retired to their separate homes. MacCol was received by the whole country with the warmest expressions of congratulation and submission, especially by all such as had the least occasion to fear that their loyalty would be suspected. By none was he treated with more deference than by the Countess of Loudoun, the wife of one of the very triumvirate who might be said to have managed the insurgent government from its beginning. It is told of this lady, that, on being visited by MacCol at Loudoun Castle, she embraced him in her arms, feasted him sumptuously, and sent a servant with his party, to pay her respects to the Marquis of Montrose.⁵ Her ladyship, no doubt, anticipated the possibility of Montrose visiting her husband's house and estate with the fate which he had already awarded to those of similar recusants.

Almost the whole of the south of Scotland paid the same homage to the conqueror, and, it is to be supposed, with exactly the same insincerity. At Glasgow, he was presented with ten thousand merks, and treated with the most abject politeness.

The counties of Lanark, Linlithgow, and Renfrew, compounded for mercy with sums of money and promises of everlasting loyalty. Ayrshire agreed to raise four thousand men for his service. The very burghs of Ayr and Irvine, noted in all time for fanaticism, condescended to purchase his mercy upon the same degrading terms. He received them all graciously, and granted them the protection they implored, after only exacting from them an oath of fidelity to the king.

He stayed at Glasgow little more than a day; it being found that, although he gave his men

strict orders not to plunder, and even punished one or two such offences capitally, they could not well resist the temptations which so closely surrounded them while they remained in the midst of a large and wealthy town. Being now anxious to buy golden opinions from his countrymen, and if possible cause them to soften the character which his unsparing proceedings in the north had procured him, he had resolved to astonish the slaves who lay crouching at his feet with a clemency they did not expect, rather than to take the same severe measures with them which he had taken with their brethren elsewhere. He marched out of Glasgow, and encamped at a distance of twelve miles, on Bothwell Moor, leaving with the citizens permission to mount a guard of their own order upon the city, and to defend their property against the attacks of his men by all the means in their power.⁶

The city of Edinburgh having not yet sent in its submission, although it had as great reason to fear his anger as any other town in the kingdom, he now dispatched a party under the Master of Napier and Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, with orders to summon it, and, in the event of its holding out, to proceed against it with fire and sword. It was another object of this expedition, to procure the release of Lord Ogilvie, the Earl of Crawford, and other noblemen and gentlemen, his friends and adherents, who had lain there imprisoned ever since the beginning of the campaign, and who had latterly been in expectation of immediate execution.

Agreeably to his orders, the party thus dispatched, which chiefly consisted of horse, stopped at the distance of a few miles from town, at once to

restrain the soldiers from all private acts of depredation, and to prevent them from catching the plague. It then appeared that the citizens were not so much delayed in their submission, by reluctance to make it, as by the fear of its not being accepted—not so much by the hope of defending themselves, as by the despair of procuring mercy. Wishart, who was one of the cavalier prisoners, may be permitted to describe the scene of terror and alarm which now took place in the town, and the negotiations which subsequently were entered into for mercy; to a great part of which he must have been an ear and eye-witness.

“ When the news of their approach reached the town, an universal consternation seized all ranks; they despaired of procuring terms, and appeared as frantic as if the city had been already in a blaze, and an enraged enemy murdering and destroying within its gates. Many, conscious of their guilt, accused themselves as sacrilegious, perjured, and ungrateful traitors, and unworthy of that clemency and forgiveness for which they so ardently prayed.

“ They privately made application to the prisoners, and, in the most humble manner, intreated them, out of compassion to the place, which was already half ruined by the pestilence, and to the miserable remains of the inhabitants, that they would intercede with Montrose, and by their good offices avert that rage, which they now acknowledged they had justly provoked. All their hopes, they said, were centred in their undertaking this generous office, as the only mean to preserve a sinking city from utter destruction. They acknowledged themselves guilty of all the crimes laid to their charge, but solemnly protested that, should they at this time experience his clemency and goodness,

they should atone for their former rebellion by the most exemplary loyalty, and implicit duty and obedience.

“ The prisoners, whom, not long before, the meanest of the mob had treated in the most contemptuous and spiteful manner, and devoted to the gibbet, unmindful of the cruel treatment they had received, gave words of encouragement to the inhabitants, and told them, that neither the king himself, nor Montrose his lieutenant, had any pleasure in the ruin and destruction of his subjects, but earnestly wished and laboured for their safety and prosperity, could they only be brought to see it themselves. They advised them forthwith to send commissioners to Montrose, to implore his pardon, as nothing could more effectually contribute to mollify the heart of a conqueror than a speedy submission—promising to intercede with Montrose in their behalf; and they did not doubt but his great and generous soul would allow itself to be overcome with the humble intreaties and supplications of a distressed city.

“ The citizens of Edinburgh, thus encouraged with hopes of success, immediately convened the town-council, in order to make choice of proper commissioners to send to Montrose. These commissioners they sent along with the Earl of Crawford and Lord Ogilvie, the two most distinguished men among all the prisoners, earnestly imploring the latter that they would use their interest with the Lord-General in their behalf, thereby to preserve a city already sore afflicted with the avenging hand of Heaven; at the same time wishing destruction to themselves and their posterity, if ever they should prove ungrateful for the favour, or ungrateful to their benefactors.

“ These two noblemen cheerfully undertook this office, to the great satisfaction of the whole city; and, having joined the delegates, went out to meet the Master of Napier. In his way towards Edinburgh, the master had relieved his father, wife, and sisters, as also Sir George Stirling of Keir, his brother-in-law, from the prison of Linlithgow, to which they had been sent by the Covenanters from the castle of Edinburgh; and being now attended by this agreeable company, and by the city delegates, he returned directly to Montrose.

“ Montrose was transported with joy at the sight of his dearest friends, Crawford and Ogilvie, whom he met with the tenderest embraces of friendship, having been so long deprived of their company and assistance. He congratulated them on their safety and deliverance, and gave them all the respect and accommodation possible, as a consolation, in some degree, for their long confinement. On the other hand, they expressed the utmost gratitude to him, and extolled him as their avenger and deliverer; both parties thus seeming to vie with each other in mutual expressions of their affection and esteem. The city delegates were then admitted to audience; they made a free surrender to him of the town, and humbly deprecated his vengeance, and implored his pardon and forgiveness; promising, in name of the whole inhabitants, an inviolable fidelity and obedience for the future, and committing themselves and all their concerns to his patronage and protection, which they humbly intreated he would grant them. They also promised immediately to release all the prisoners in their custody, and desired him to assure himself, that any thing else he should desire of

them should be instantly complied with. The town, they said, had been almost depopulated by a dreadful plague, so that no supplies of men could be expected from it; but they were ready to contribute all they could to defray the expense of what troops he might raise in other places. Above all, they most earnestly implored him to intercede for them with their most gracious and merciful king, to obtain his pity and pardon, and that he would not condemn the whole city for the crime of rebellion, into which they had been involved by the craft and example of a few insidious men, armed with power and authority. Montrose gave them reason to hope for the royal forgiveness; and the only conditions he demanded of them were, 1st, Sacredly to observe their loyalty and allegiance to his majesty for the future; 2d, To renounce all correspondence with the rebels, whether within or without the kingdom; 3d, To surrender the castle of Edinburgh to the king's officers; and, 4th, That, as soon as they returned to the city, they should set all the prisoners at liberty, and send them forward to his camp.

"The first of these articles," says Wishart, "they performed with all expedition; but, agreeably to their usual perfidy and ingratitude, they did not ratify any of the rest."

It is scarcely necessary to stop the narrative, even for a moment, to point out the *morale* of this truly humiliating picture of the conduct of the city of Edinburgh; as, to every one who has read the preceding chapters, it must be obvious that a transaction involving more dissimulation and meanness never before took place. But it may, perhaps, be allowable to observe, that such transactions must of necessity be always very frequent during pe-

riods of civil war, and even during times of strong political dissension ; because, over and above the two factions who conduct the struggle, and who are alone committed to live and die in it, there is always a still larger third party, comprehending the weak, the timid, and the indifferent, who are content to accommodate their own sentiments to those of the party which may acquire a temporary power over them, and think any sacrifice of principle little enough to ensure them continued possession of life and its good things. It seems certain, that so long as there is a diversity of opinions and interests in the community, there will occasionally happen crises when a civil war is unavoidable ; but no party should ever lose sight of this awful consideration, as a means of moderating their mutual rancour, that, evil as many things appear when the nation is in a state of tranquillity, they must be by a thousand degrees more tolerable than those innumerable ills which overtake both the minds and the persons of the people after an appeal has been made to the sword ; ills, of which not the least is that wide-spread hypocrisy—that unmanly habit of dissembling, which must obtain, in such a case, among the greater part of the nation, and of which so notable an instance has just been presented to the reader.

Montrose remained encamped at Bothwell, receiving the homage of the country around, till the 3d of September. During his residence there, he was honoured with several communications from the king ; in particular, with one of a highly flattering nature. Charles, now fully alive to the great merits of Montrose, and sensible that he had done more for the royal cause than any other man of his country, thought proper to honour him with

an extended commission, as "Lieutenant-Governor of Scotland, and General of all his Majesty's Forces there;" by which he was empowered to raise and command forces in Scotland, to march, if expedient, into England and act against such Scottish subjects as were in rebellion there, also to exercise unlimited power over the kingdom of Scotland, to pardon or condemn state criminals as he pleased, and to confer the honour of knighthood upon such as he thought worthy of it. By another commission, he empowered him to call a parliament on the 28th of October next, at Glasgow, where he, as royal commissioner, might consult with the king's friends regarding the further prosecution of the war and the settlement of the kingdom. These commissions, the first of which bears to have passed the seal at Hereford on the 25th of June, were carried to Scotland by Sir Robert Spottiswood, the son of Archbishop Spottiswood, a zealous loyalist, who had been originally Lord President of the Court of Session, but who, having been compelled by the pressure of the times, like many other men of peaceful professions, to appear in scenes of bustle and danger, had latterly accompanied the king under the character of his Secretary of State for Scotland. The route by which the precious documents were brought from the hands of King Charles to those of the Marquis of Montrose, gives a vivid idea of the state of the country, and the danger of travelling through it at this unhappy period: Sir Robert had been obliged, for the safety of his person, to pass from Oxford into Wales, from thence to the Isle of Man, from thence to Lochaber in the West Highlands, and from thence through Athole towards Bothwell Kirk; being conducted on his last stage by a

party of Highlanders. When he arrived at the camp, Montrose held a grand review of his troops; after which the commissions were delivered to him in a ceremonious manner, beneath the royal standard. Montrose afterwards put them into the hands of Archibald Primrose, clerk of the Committee of Estates, for registration in the books of Parliament; that gentleman having joined him, along with the Justice-Clerk, Hamilton of Orbiston, for the purpose, as has since been supposed, of betraying his councils to the enemy. When the ceremony was over, he made a short speech to the army, and immediately took advantage of the new powers with which he was vested, to knight Alaster Macdonald, (MacCol,) the favourite hero of at least the Highland part of his forces.

About the same time that Montrose received this commission, he was honoured with communications from the king, of later date, disclosing to him the plans which his Majesty had formed for his subsequent conduct. The gist of these was, that he should march into the Border counties, where there were a number of loyal noblemen possessed of great territorial influence, as the Marquis of Douglas, and the Earls of Hartfell and Annandale, in the West Border, and the Earls of Home, Roxburghe, and Traquair, in the East; that these noblemen having joined him with their tenantry, he should break down upon the Scottish army in the north of England, and endeavour to produce a diversion of the English Parliamentary forces towards that quarter.

But before he could put his project in execution, some circumstances occurred which considerably weakened the prospect of its success. The Scottish leaders at Berwick had now resolved, as a

desperate effort for rescuing their country, to bring down upon him from England the whole of the powerful body of horse which had been so effective at the battle of Long Marston Moor; calculating, with that force, so well qualified as it was to compete with his nimble and desultory bands, at length to procure the victory which so many armies of militia and even of disciplined infantry had already fought for in vain. At the head of this body was General David Leslie, a kinsman of the old Earl of Leven, who was now rising fast into favour with the Covenanters, and who had, by his superior conduct at the great fight just mentioned, almost succeeded at once to the whole glory of his venerable relative.⁷ Leslie had, by the 1st of September, reached Berwick, on his way to Scotland, with an army of cavalry numbering not much less than six thousand.

To meet such a force with effect, Montrose would have required all the forces with which he had fought the battle of Kilsyth, and either a few hundreds of additional horse, or a considerable advantage of ground. Unfortunately, at this very moment he was deserted by a great number of his old forces, instead of being joined by any new. Three thousand of his Highlanders, partly from Athole, and partly from Argyle and the districts adjacent, at once left his camp, under the conduct of Sir Alaster Macdonald; the men induced by a desire of providing winter quarters and food for their families, many of whom had been rendered destitute and houseless by the enemy, while MacCol himself was inspired with a wish of revenging upon the Campbells the treachery and cruelty with which they had treated his friends in the Western Islands.⁸ The Earl of Aboyne, more-

over, took this opportunity to go northward with his followers, in order to convoy his father from his place of concealment in Sutherland to Montrose's camp;⁹ a project which he had formed immediately after the battle of Alford, but which had then been postponed for a time.

His army thus diminished, it became a great question with Montrose, whether he should trust himself on a recruiting expedition through the Border counties, at the risk of being attacked in his weakness by Leslie's horse, or adopt the more cautious expedient of retiring to the confines of the Highlands, and there waiting for the return of his mountaineers and Gordons. It is probable that, if he had not just before gained six great victories, he would not have hesitated a moment to take the last measure; but that, as the case stood, his heart braced by repeated success to any danger, and his mind farther inflamed with a desire of fulfilling with all expedition the grand scheme of conquest laid out for him by his sovereign, he was compelled, as it were, by a necessity of his nature, to take the more adventurous course. We are almost confirmed in this theory by the overweening confidence which the historian of the family of Gordon, upon information derived from one of his adherents, describes him as at this period entertaining regarding his own resources and luck as a general; a confidence so overweening as to be offensive to many of his best friends, who felt it to be an indication that he did not appreciate their assistance in the way he ought to have done, and which was therefore, according to Gordon, one of the causes of the desertion of the Earl of Aboyne. The theory is farther confirmed by the circumstance, that he left his camp at Bothwell, for the purpose of proceed-

ing upon his recruiting expedition, the very day after the Highlanders had deserted him.¹⁰

Some days before removing, he had sent the Marquis of Douglas and Lord Ogilvie to raise the men of the West Marches, and had written letters to the Earls of Home, Roxburghe, and Traquair, requesting them to hasten their levies, in conformity to the design and wishes of the king. He seems to have finally satisfied himself in his purpose of marching southward, by the answer sent by these noblemen to his request, which bore, that, although they exerted themselves to the utmost of their power, they found they could never succeed to the extent they wished, till he himself should encourage them by his presence. Some historians, as Wishart and Guthry, have roundly asserted, that Home and Roxburghe, if not also Traquair, were now actuated by a secret dealing with the Covenanters, to draw him south, that he might fall into Leslie's hands. But, though certain circumstances give this assertion an air of probability, it seems more likely that, if they were really disinclined to the king's service on this occasion, it proceeded from no other cause than a jealousy of Montrose, or else a well-grounded fear that, even with their assistance, he could not stand his ground against Leslie.

It ought to be mentioned, that, according to Guthry's account of this transaction, it was part of the scheme, that the Earl of Tulliebardine, a zealous Covenanter, (ancestor of the Duke of Athole,) should raise all his vassals, and all the friends of the Covenant north of the Forth, to act as a sort of check behind, and prevent Montrose from retreating to the mountains, in the event of his escaping Leslie.

With troops, therefore, diminished from the five thousand he had at Kilsyth, to only seven hundred foot and about two hundred mounted gentlemen,¹¹ but inspired by a vague expectation of finding great reinforcements either ready to join him, or fit to do so in two days after he should appear among them, Montrose, on the 4th of September, left behind him the great natural fastness which had afforded him so much protection during his whole campaign, and marched towards an open country, where he was almost sure of being taken at a disadvantage by the powerful enemy which was coming to oppose him. At Cranstoun Kirk, in Mid-Lothian, he was informed that Leslie had reached Berwick, and also learned, by means of an intercepted letter, the scheme which had been concerted to cut off his retreat to the north; yet such was his infatuated confidence in his own powers, and such a reliance did he place on the efforts of the Border nobles, that, instead of hesitating for a while to consider the propriety of the step, he only took it with the greater precipitation; an intention which he had previously entertained to remain at Cranstoun during the ensuing day (Sunday), in order to hear Dr Wishart preach, being now abandoned, that he might prosecute his march with all speed.

In the vale of Gala Water, which he now descended, he was joined by some small bands which the name of Douglas was there yet powerful enough to raise. But as he advanced, he learned with great chagrin, that a considerable body which the marquis and Lord Ogilvy had raised in the West Marches, was almost completely dissipated by desertion. The Earl of Traquair met him at Gala-shiels, and gratified him with a profession of warm loyalty and of affection for his own person; and

next day he was joined by a troop of excellent horse, which that nobleman had raised in Peeblesshire, and which he had placed under the command of his eldest son, Lord Linton. Traquair, at the same time, undertook a task which he did not afterwards perform very well—that of advertising him of David Leslie's motions.

Surprised, as he advanced southward, to hear no intelligence from Home and Roxburghe, whom he expected to have at least come to welcome him to the country, he resolved to march towards their respective places of residence, and force them to bestir themselves. But the disinclination or fear of these noblemen caused them, before he approached, to surrender themselves to David Leslie; a measure of caution which enabled them to preserve their apparent fidelity to the king, and yet escape serving his general, while at the same time it tended to ingratiate them with the Covenanters. They of course pretended, in this case, to have been surprised by their captors; but it was afterwards known that Roxburghe had himself sent to Berwick for the two troops of horse which seized him.

On finding himself thus disappointed, Montrose, if we are to believe Sir Robert Spottiswood,¹² "was not very much amazed." Yet, knowing the danger of his present situation, he speedily adopted the resolution of marching back with all speed to the Highlands, or, in the event of that retreat being cut off, towards the Western Border, where he believed he might be rescued by a large troop of horse which the king had given him some prospect of sending down for his relief. With this view, he marched westward to Jedburgh, and from thence still farther westward to Selkirk, where, on the

night of the 12th of September, he encamped on an open plain called Philiphaugh, himself lodging with all his horse within the town.

It may be proper to describe the ground on which he thus pitched himself, and on which he was destined next day to lose, in one hour, the result of a twelvemonth's hard-won triumph; because, if the reader could conceive a full idea of the *locale*, he might be disposed to exculpate this great general from the imputation so often thrown upon him, that his defeat was owing in some measure to a defect of judgment in the choice of his ground. Philiphaugh is simply, as the last syllable of the name implies, a level piece of alluvial ground, stretching along the north bank of the Ettrick, for about two miles above the junction of that minor river with the Tweed. As high and inaccessible grounds rise above it on both sides, it may be described, in other words, as a deep recess in the mountainous region which hems in the river Tweed to the south, or as the *embouchure* of a small glen which opens upon the greater vale of that distinguished stream. Montrose pitched himself at the inmost extremity of the recess, (at a place called the Hareheadwood,) where, having the narrow passes of the Ettrick and Yarrow behind him, for secure retreat, he could only be approached in one way; namely, by the long expanse of Philiphaugh, which lay before him, and over which no enemy seemed able to make a sudden enough advance to surprise him. To make his post still securer, while he rested the left wing of his little army upon the wooded heights of the Harehead, where it was impossible for cavalry to turn his flank, he caused trenches to be thrown up on the plain below for the protection of the right. Directly in

his rear, the wild and lonely vale of Yarrow opened off from the wider strath in which he lay; and at the distance of a mile in advance of his camp, the town of Selkirk crowned a height above the Ettrick, forming an excellent position for his advanced-guard and head-quarters, because it lay directly betwixt his army and the point from which he conceived it likely or possible for Leslie to approach him.

The precautions which he took to guard against a sudden approach on the part of Leslie, were not perhaps so very careful or judicious as his dispositions. It had always been his custom throughout the campaign, and he had no doubt found his account in it, to see the watches set every night with his own eyes, and to send off the scouts with directions and precautions delivered directly from his own mouth. On this fatal eve, altogether ignorant of Leslie's motions, but only entertaining a vague apprehension, that, as his force consisted altogether of cavalry, he might make a very sudden advance, he conceived that he might, without great risk, depute these duties for one night to his officers, while he himself attended to a task of a more pressing nature—that of preparing against next morning a set of dispatches for the king, which he had just found an opportunity of sending off by a peculiarly sure hand. The officers whom he thus trusted being men of long-tried abilities and discretion, and the scouts being chiefly the vassals of the Earl of Traquair, and therefore perfectly well acquainted with the country, he no doubt conceived that, even on an evening when danger had the appearance of being more instant and impending, he might have acted as he did. It must have at least appeared to him that there was

a more urgent necessity for his getting the king apprised of his present circumstances, in order that no time might be lost in procuring that royal supply of cavalry, upon which he depended for relief in the event of his retiring into Dumfries-shire, than there was for his executing a piece of camp-duty in person, which to all appearance could be delegated for one night with perfect safety.

Acting under the influence of considerations like these, he sat up the whole night, writing his dispatches, while his scouts scoured the country in all directions for nearly twenty miles. Before morning, he himself received several vague reports as to the motions of the enemy, probably from the country people; and these he took care to dispatch, ever and anon as he received them, to his officers at the camp. But he was always re-assured, by attestations from the scouts who came dropping in, that "they wished damnation to their souls, if they had any where found the least appearance of an enemy."

Strange to say, Leslie was this very night lying with four thousand horse at Melrose, only six miles from the royalist camp. He had, as Montrose learned at Kelso, marched forward from Berwick into Scotland, intending to plant himself at Stirling, so as to cut off the retreat of the enemy to the Highlands: On the day that Montrose marched from Jedburgh to Selkirk, Friday, September 12th, he had held a council of war at Gladsmuir, in East Lothian, where this course was ultimately determined on. A letter, however, having reached him immediately after the council was held, by which he was apprised of Montrose's weakness, and of his intention to retreat into Dumfries-shire, the Presbyterian general judged it ex-

pedient all at once to change the resolution which had just been entered into, and make a direct, and, if possible, a sudden attack upon the royalists; it appearing to him improbable that he could ever have an opportunity of fighting them afterwards with greater advantage on his own side. On that day, therefore, instead of marching on towards Stirling, he turned short about from Gladsmuir, and, falling upon Montrose's own track down the vale of Gala, reached the village of Melrose, upon the banks of the Tweed, not long after the enemy had encamped in the neighbourhood of Selkirk. A mist of unusual density prevented his approach to the village from being observed by Montrose's scouts; and after settling himself for the night, he either lay so still, and took such certain measures for cutting off the spies who approached him, or was so much favoured in his designs by the treachery of these intelligencers, that the royal general did not discover the fact till it was too late to obviate its evil effects.

How Montrose's scouts, who are represented as having ranged the whole night to a distance of nearly twenty miles, should have failed to observe an enemy of such strength, who lay at the next village, and within the distance of six miles, is a matter which cannot now be explained with certainty. There are three modes of accounting for it; the first supposes it to have been occasioned by mere want of vigilance on the part of Montrose, his officers, and scouts; by the second, it is conjectured that Leslie had been able to cut off all the scouts who came in his direction; while the third roundly asserts it to have been entirely owing to the treachery of the Earl of Traquair. Laying aside the first and second theories as improbable,

or as merely the gratuitous conjectures of modern authors, it must be acknowledged that the third, which has been started and insisted upon by contemporary writers, (Wishart and Guthry,) seems the only one by which the wonder can be rationally accounted for. To exculpate the earl, it is true, Gordon has shown that, after the suppression of the insurrection, he was fined in a very heavy sum by the Covenanters, as a punishment for his temporary alliance with Montrose. Yet, on the other hand, when we take into account his vacillating conduct in the earlier years of the war, as also the circumstance (stated by Guthry¹⁵) of his withdrawing his troops on some pretext from Philiphaugh immediately before the battle, together with the disrespect in which he was ever after this period held by both Covenanters and Royalists, it must be confessed that there still remains considerable probability in the theory which has represented him as betraying Montrose.

Whether Leslie was or was not favoured by a treacherous party in the enemy's camp, it is at least certain that he was much indebted to a natural accident for the triumph he was about to gain. He was able to advance from Melrose to a spot within half a mile of Selkirk, without being discovered, by reason of one of those thick mists which so often darken the mornings of September in Scotland. His route lay close along the south bank of the Tweed till he came to the confluence of the Ettrick with that river. It was just day-break when he reached that point. He then continued his insidious march up along the south-east bank of the Ettrick, till, coming to a place about a mile short of Selkirk, he is affirmed, by credible tradition, to have encountered a countryman well

affected to the Covenant, who undertook to conduct him across the Ettrick to the plain, or *haugh*, on the opposite side, and so on towards the camp of the enemy, by a path which it was not probable that they were watching with great strictness. Leslie saw reason to follow the advice of this guide, because to have advanced upon Selkirk, in pursuance of his present route, would have tended to warn the enemy, by alarming his advanced guards there stationed. The result of his precaution was, that he had almost got beyond Selkirk, so as to be nearly betwixt Montrose's head-quarters and his camp, before that general was aware of his approach, or even of his presence in the country.

The first notice Montrose had of his advance was what he received from the firing of the out-posts at Leslie's troops, which, as he was not above half a mile from the spot, easily reached his ears. Immediately on hearing that sound, so well calculated to alarm him, he rushed from his quarters, flung himself upon the first horse he saw, and, galloping down the steep descent on which the town is situated, soon reached the camp where his presence was so necessary. Fortunately, Leslie had not yet advanced so far as to intervene betwixt Selkirk and the camp, or he must have been fairly prevented from putting himself at the head of his troops, if not also taken prisoner or slain. The iron-clad bands of the Covenant were only advancing along the haugh to the north-east of Selkirk, at the moment he left the town. They were, however, already engaged in a skirmish with the retiring videttes.

When the marquis reached his troops, he found that his men had already risen, and were engaged in the duties preparatory to a removal of their

camp; it having been announced to them the night before, that they were that morning to begin, at an early hour, the proposed march into Dumfriesshire. This was so far fortunate; for, although a preparation to march was a very different thing from a preparation to fight, and the horse, in particular, were all dispersed along the neighbouring fields, eating their morning meal of grass, and therefore in the worst possible condition to commence a battle, the case would certainly have been much worse if Leslie had surprised them in their beds.

Yet, after all, it may be asserted with some confidence, that, even supposing there had been no surprise in the case, but the whole royalists had been deliberately drawn up to receive the charge of the Presbyterian army, there was but a very poor chance that a body of less than a thousand foot and five hundred horse—for such was the miserable amount of Montrose's muster on this disastrous day—should keep their ground against four or five thousand well armed and well disciplined cavalry, whose name their exploits had already made terrible. To weaken still farther this wretched chance, many of the royalists, both horse and foot, were raw and ill-trained militia; men dragged into a service they detested, and who looked upon the party they had to fight with as next thing to irresistible. A Lowland gentleman,¹⁴ who was present at Leslie's muster the day before on Gladsmuir, has commemorated that to his imagination, and those also of his friends, (the gentry of Lothian and the Merse, there present,) the sight of so many men clad in steel, back and breast, with helmets, and moving in such regular order, and with such a fearless demeanour, was the most

awful thing that could be conceived. If such was the impression of a set of unconcerned spectators at a mere review, it may well be conceived that men of the same order, who were to be exposed to the same troops in a mortal struggle, would regard them with a feeling partaking still more of terror. Such would really appear to have been the case; for, at the first sound of the enemy's trumpet, and the first glance which was got of their solid and long-extending lines, the late levies, horse and foot, retired in confusion towards their own country, leaving only a few of their officers, men of honourable feeling and of personal zeal in the cause, to assist the meagre bands of Irish and mounted gentlemen, which Montrose then had to oppose to the enemy.

It was about half an hour after day-break, (Saturday, the 13th of September, 1645,) when Leslie's troopers made their attack upon the royal army. The point which they chose to assail was the right wing, which has been already described as projecting upon the plain of Philiphaugh, and as being partially covered by trenches. There, as it was the weakest point, Montrose also took care to pitch himself and his small band of cavalry; the left wing, as already mentioned, being safe amidst the woods which clothed the heights of Harehead.

The charge was made with all the confidence inspired by superior numbers, and the pride of having accomplished a surprise. It was not, however, attended with the instantaneous success which might have been expected from these premises. Montrose, at the head of about a hundred and fifty gallant cavaliers, most of whom were gentlemen by birth and soldiers by profession, met the huge force of the heroes of Long Marston with a firm-

ness perfectly admirable. He even managed, with this little band, to repulse and stagger the great squadrons which attacked him. Again they came up to the charge; and again they were driven back. Unfortunately, the bravery displayed by this desperate few, was all in vain. The detachment which Leslie had sent, by the direction of his guide, to make a circuit and fall on the rear of the royalists, at this moment came down the hill behind the left wing, and, breaking furiously upon that portion of the army, at once decided the fate of the day. The foot, after a brief attempt at resistance, retired in a body to a position upon the face of the hill, where they thought they might secure themselves from the attacks of cavalry, or at least hold out till they got good terms of surrender; and the brave cavaliers who had defended them on the right, finding themselves in danger of being completely surrounded and cut off, broke away, while it was yet time, through such portions of the field as seemed clearest of the enemy, each providing as he best might for his own safety.

Montrose was at first so overwhelmed with vexation at seeing the rout of his army, that, in a sort of despair, he resolved to remain upon the field and sell his life as dearly as he could to the victors. Thirty brave friends stuck close to him with the same purpose; and at the head of these he had proceeded to put his design in execution by attacking various large parties of the enemy, many of whom fell beneath their desperate swords. But at length, after acting thus for some time without finding his life in great danger, he adopted another resolution. It struck his mind that this surprise and defeat, as it involved but a small portion of his adherents, could hardly be decisive of the fate

of the royal cause in Scotland, provided that he should survive to put himself at the head of those who remained. The Marquis of Douglas, moreover, intreating him at the same moment to spare himself for the sake of his friends, the whole of whom must be ruined if he should be taken from their head, he was prevailed upon to prefer—what few men under similar circumstances have failed to prefer—flight to death.¹⁵

Having thus changed his resolution, he immediately gave the word to retreat; and so respectable was his appearance even in that degraded condition, that the mass of Leslie's army made no attempt to oppose him. Only a few light troops, inspired by a wish to seize the great enemy of their party, presumed to give him any annoyance. Upon them he turned several times, with effect which made them repent of their temerity; and he finally got clear off with three of them as his prisoners, a captain of horse and two cornets, each of them carrying a standard. He pursued a line of retreat directly opposite to the point from which Leslie had approached him, but not towards the district which he had previously designed to retire to. Having probably judged it now most expedient that he should retire to the Highlands, and endeavour to raise the northern loyalists, or at least find refuge amongst them, he passed over the wild hill of Minchmuir by the old road betwixt the towns of Selkirk and Peebles, a direction which pointed as near as might be towards the passes from the low to the high countries.

It was afterwards noted as a remarkable circumstance that the queen (Henrietta Maria) was singing a grand "Te Deum Laudamus" in one of the churches of Paris, for the victory which heaven

had vouchsafed to her husband's arms at Kilsyth, on the very morning when Montrose thus lost the whole fruits of that victory on the field of Philiphaugh.¹⁶

When the battle had ceased by the retirement of the royalists from the field, the great mass of Leslie's army, instead of troubling themselves with a pursuit, began with might and main to sack the baggage, which, as may be supposed, fell entire into their hands. Unfortunately for their fame, they also thought proper to massacre all the humble and helpless personages, women, children, and scullion-boys, whom they found in attendance upon that department of the camp. When these duties were fully performed, they were called to environ and attempt to reduce the body of royalist foot, which, as already mentioned, had retired to a good position upon the side of the hill, and which seemed yet inclined to dispute the day, by occasionally firing their pieces at the troopers who happened to approach them.

This occasioned a transaction of a most infamous nature, the blame of which, divided as it is betwixt Leslie and a clergyman who accompanied him, must for ever stain both their names alike. The party of foot, having surrendered after some little resistance, as prisoners of war, were conducted to the court-yard of the neighbouring baronial fortress of Newark, and there placed under a proper guard. To this place, afterwards, the whole of the victorious army was brought, to hear a sermon which a Presbyterian divine was about to give in congratulation of their triumph. There is no authority for saying that the text chosen on this occasion was the fifteenth chapter of the first book of Samuel, where Saul is represented as losing the

empire of Judah for having spared the captive king of the Amalekites ; but it is at least certain that, in the course of his sermon, the preacher attempted in the warmest language to show that the clemency displayed by General Leslie towards the royalist prisoners, was calculated to injure him in the same degree in the eyes of the Almighty, as Saul's tenderness for the fat of oxen and rams. He had even the daring impiety, and the singular inhumanity, to exclaim, in the words which Samuel used to reprobate Saul's remissness, "What meaneth this bleating of the sheep in mine ears, and the lowing of the oxen which I hear?"—pointing at the same time to the herd of captives, who were, in all probability, scoffing at his sermon from behind their enclosure, or else, perhaps, lamenting aloud the unfortunate and dangerous circumstances in which they were placed.¹⁷ Leslie, it must be confessed, had not been accustomed, either in his service abroad, or in his English campaign, to destroy his prisoners ; nor had the dissensions of the kingdom yet proceeded in any instance to such a violent and dreadful extreme. He might, moreover, have quoted with effect against the dictates of the preacher the expression used by the amiable Saul on another but similar occasion—the destruction of the Ammenites ; when, it being proposed by his soldiers to put to death all who had shewn a disposition to cavil at his election to the sovereignty of Israel, he exclaimed, "There shall not a man be put to death this day ; for to-day the Lord hath wrought salvation in Israel." It would, however, appear that Leslie was a man of such callous feelings, as not easily to be prevented by considerations of humanity from adopting any measure which seemed calculated either to ingratiate

himself with his constituents, or to promote the general interests of his army. He accordingly yielded to the solicitations or commands of his ghostly associates, by ordering a party of his troopers to fire upon the prisoners till they should all be destroyed.¹⁸

The order was obeyed with punctual exactness ; and, to add to the testimony of authentic history regarding so monstrous a deed, tradition still points out a field in the neighbourhood of the castle, which the country-people, in commemoration of the massacre, entitle " the Slain Men's Lee ;" that having apparently been the spot where the inhuman transaction took place, or at least where the bodies of the slain were buried. To confirm still farther the truth of what many will find difficulty in believing, there was discovered, since the commencement of the present century, an immense mass of human bones, buried a little below the surface, at the very spot which tradition had previously pointed out as the scene of the massacre.¹⁹

It is a somewhat remarkable circumstance regarding the battle of Philiphaugh, that although the victory was so complete on the part of Leslie, he lost more of his standards than the vanquished. While Montrose, as already mentioned, was so singularly fortunate as to capture two cornets with their ensigns in the very heat of his flight, Leslie's army did not succeed in taking one of Montrose's standards even in the height of his triumph. Montrose had had just two ; and they were preserved in this way : That which belonged to his infantry was rescued by an Irish soldier of peculiar strength and spirit, who no sooner perceived that the day was lost, than, stripping the precious cloth from its pole, and wrapping it round his body, (which

was otherwise naked,) he dashed through the thickest of the enemy with his drawn sword in his hand, and got clear off. By an extraordinary exertion, he contrived to overtake Montrose that night, and to gratify him by delivering it into his own hands; when the general was so much pleased with the gallantry of the man, that he received him into his life-guard, and conferred upon him the office of carrying the standard which he had redeemed.

The other ensign, that which had been carried before the horse, was preserved by its bearer, the Honourable William Hay, brother to the Earl of Kinneul, a youth of singularly gallant spirit; who, also taking the precaution to strip it off the pole, and having enveloped his person with it, broke through the enemy, and escaped to the borders of England; where, having skulked for some time, he afterwards, under the conduct of a brother royalist, Robert Touris of Inverleith, contrived to regain the north, and deliver this flag into Montrose's own hands.²⁰

Montrose had the gratification, before he got over the hill of Minchmuir, to be joined by above a hundred of his straggling cavalry, and thus to acquire a strength sufficient to protect him from the insults of the country people. He first drew bridle, ten miles from the field of battle, at Traquair, the seat of the Earl of Traquair; when, having sent in a friend to desire his lordship and his son to come out and confer with him, he was mortified to hear that they were both from home; although it was afterwards discovered, if we are to believe Bishop Wishart, that they were in reality within, but thought proper to deny themselves. Without stopping at Traquair, the dejected little party rode

on to Peebles, where they spent the night. Next morning, with a party increased by the accession of stragglers to nearly two hundred horse, Montrose was conducted into Clydesdale; from whence he soon after succeeded in reaching the Highlands. Among the friends who saved themselves along with him, were the Marquis of Douglas, the Earls of Airy and Crawford, and the Lords Erskine, Fleming, and Napier. He had, however, to regret that some of the very best and most eminent of his friends, as the Earl of Hartfell, the Lords Drummond and Ogilvie, Sir Robert Spottiswood, Sir Alexander Leslie of Auchentoul, Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, the Honourable William Murray, brother to the Marquis of Tullibardine, Alexander Ogilvie of Inverquhar, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, and Mr Andrew Guthrie, son to the ex-bishop of Murray, had fallen into the hands of the enemy.

The treatment awarded to these unfortunate persons by their captors, was so much in violation of both the laws of humanity and those of war, as to be afterwards matter of regret to the very best friends of the Covenanted cause. Hitherto, as already hinted, no blood had been shed, either in England or Scotland, except in the open field, and in the generous spirit of fair warfare. If there was any exception, it lay on the side of the parliament, which had sacrificed Strafford and Laud to its resentment. On the king's side, at least, although his powers were of that superior and more sacred nature, that he could have more justifiably proceeded upon them, there had been no example of judicial sacrifice; but, on the contrary, all the prisoners, even those who had acted in the most conspicuously treasonable manner, had been recei-

ved and treated as prisoners of war.²¹ The generosity and discretion of this mode of procedure were now to be, for the first time, fairly departed from by the barbarous oligarchy which governed Scotland; the spirit of revenge, it would appear, having there first got the better of all more humane and civilized principles of action, in precise conformity to the rule acknowledged by students of human nature, that the less removed a nation is from its primeval state of rudeness, so much the more predominant and unlimited is the desire of "blood for blood."

Leslie having returned to Lothian, and there taken under his protection the Committee of Estates and the Commission of the Kirk, the members of which had fled to Berwick after the battle of Kilsyth, a tour of vengeance was undertaken through the kingdom, by that tripartite tyranny of war, rebellion, and fanaticism, for the purpose of extirpating the last remaining roots, as they themselves would have said, of malignancy. The first victims were two Irish captains, O'Kane and Laughlane, who had been spared by some chance from the shambles of Newark. These unhappy young soldiers, one of whom had behaved with singular gallantry at the affair of Fyvie, while the other had been distinguished as one of the first men in the charge at Kilsyth, were hanged, without the least ceremony, upon the castle-hill of Edinburgh. In the progress of the army through West Lothian, a few days after, a much more extensive scene of destruction took place. About forty of the wives and children of the Irish, who had been taken and gathered together by the country-people, were precipitated from the high bridge over the river Avon, near Linlithgow, and drowned in the deep pool

below. Some of these unfortunate persons, even after their fall—one of at least fifty feet—and after being immersed in the water, had strength sufficient to gain the banks; but soldiers were placed for a considerable way down the stream, to push back all such into the water with their pikes, and to wait till they were sure that the whole were dead.²²

At Glasgow, to which the army and the Committees next progressed, a present of fifty thousand merks, with a gold chain, was adjudged to Leslie, and a gift of twenty-five thousand merks to Middleton, the second in command, in token of the estimation in which they were held for their late services to the state. Before they removed from Glasgow, the citizens were compelled to pay a fine of twenty thousand pounds, in expiation of the heinous crime they had been guilty of, in giving fifty thousand to Montrose.²³ The army was finally removed to Ferfar, there to act as a guard over the Low Country, to protect it from the machinations of Montrose, who was understood to have again arrived at considerable strength, and to be meditating a renewal of the war.

CHAPTER VI.

SUPPRESSION OF MONTROSE'S INSURRECTION.

The Trojan youth about the captive flock,
To wonder, or to pity, or to mock.

DENNAM.

SMALL as Montrose's force had been at Philiphaugh, in comparison with the whole extent of his resources, and although it might have been supposed that he only required to throw himself into the Highlands, in order to gather as large an army as ever, it soon appeared that that defeat was to prove a complete death-blow to his hopes. No longer possessed of the invincible name which hitherto had mainly supported him; deprived of many of his best adherents and advisers; his remaining friends terrified by the fate with which their captive associates were threatened by the victors; the king's affairs in England every day verging nearer and nearer that point when they would be irretrievable; the very season unfavourable for any farther effort; it speedily became apparent that, in losing instead of gaining the battle of Philiphaugh, he had lost the last opportunity of accomplishing the grand object with which he had entered the campaign. The party which the king dis-

patched to his assistance about the time of the battle of Philiphaugh, had been, like many other parties of Charles's forces during this last and most disastrous of his campaigns, cut off by the triumphant republicans. To complete the difficulty of his circumstances, the Great Marquis had now to propose an attack, not upon a huge raw body of Lowland militia, but upon a large army of disciplined cavalry, which had already beaten him, and was confident in its ability to beat him again.

On his retreat into Athole, he had been able to raise only four hundred men ; the rest being as yet engrossed in the repair of their ruined dwellings, and in providing stores for the winter. Then, having crossed the Grampians, and descended into Aberdeenshire, he exerted himself to rouse the vassals of the Marquis of Huntly, who had just before left his concealment in Sutherland, and returned home. Montrose expected that this nobleman would now join heart and hand in the common enterprise, and he made various overtures with the view of inducing him to rank under his banner. But Huntly, however zealous for the interest of the king, was by no means well-disposed towards Montrose. Either inflamed with a personal resentment against him, in remembrance of his capture at Aberdeen in 1639, or unwilling to vail his own commission as Lieutenant over the north of Scotland, to that which Montrose bore as Governor and Captain-General, he rejected all his intreaties ; although these are said to have been at once respectful, urgent, and frequently repeated ; constantly affirming that he entertained the strongest good-will towards the royal cause, but as constantly displaying a reluctance to take the method of showing it proposed by Montrose.

Having in the end succeeded in rousing the Earl of Aboyne, with a small band of the Gordons, though rather by force than any other method, the royal general marched southward with all haste, intending to attempt the rescue of his friends from the hands of parliament, or at least endeavour to awe the latter into mercy. He had the mortification, however, to see these unwilling levies all drop away from him in his march southward, under the pretext of defending their own country from the attacks of a party of the enemy's troops. He was further mortified at this time, by receiving intelligence that Sir Alaster MacCol could not be brought away from Argyleshire to join him; being there engaged in matters more nearly concerning his own interests and feelings, than either Montrose's or the king's service. He at last found himself, on descending into the Lowlands, attended by only about three hundred horse and twelve hundred foot, chiefly Atholemen, Ogilvies, and adherents of the Lord Erskine;¹ a miserable army to present against the six thousand horse commanded by Leslie and Middleton.

With this small army, however, Montrose did not hesitate, towards the end of October, to approach Glasgow, where the Committee of Estates was sitting in trial upon his friends, attended by a guard of three thousand horse. Planting himself upon the lands of the chief Covenanters of the district, he lay for some time contemplating the city, as the lioness regards the fortress within which she knows her stolen cubs to be immured. By ravaging these lands, he for some time hoped to bring out the Covenanting force to the country, where he might find an opportunity to attack it to advantage; but the Committee knew his weakness, and,

retaining their guard close around them, deliberately proceeded with the trial of their prisoners.

Three of these unfortunate individuals were destined to suffer at Glasgow; Sir William Rollock, who had accompanied Montrose on his journey from England, Sir Philip Nisbet, and Alexander Ogilvie, younger of Inverquharity. Their trial was not intrusted to the common judicial tribunal of the country; that, like many other powers of old standing, was now in a great measure supplanted by the all-engrossing and omnipotent Court of Parliament, or rather the junto termed its committee. It was by this committee, which had the convenient merit of being at once accuser and judge, that the three gentlemen were tried. A sentence of condemnation was of course unavoidable. Sir William Rollock was hanged at the Market-Cross of Glasgow, on the 28th October, and his companions next day. The individual last mentioned was a youth of eighteen, who had recently been hurried by his father from the school to the field, and who was, in every view of his case, worthy of mercy. It might have been expected that, where there were so many of deeper guilt, and manlier years, *he* would scarcely be selected as a proper subject of punishment. Unfortunately the selection was made upon far different principles. He was an Ogilvie; one of a family against which the Marquis of Argyle cherished an implacable hatred, and which he had many selfish reasons for wishing to see destroyed. To gratify the malignant passions of this nobleman, who now had become in effect king of Scotland, the unfortunate youth was sacrificed by his saintly judges.

It would almost appear that, at this deplorable period, the best feelings of human nature were

smothered and buried, in the breasts of public men, beneath the false and bewildering spirit which had possessed them. Instead of expressing the least compunction at the repeated executions of men who but a few years before had been their bosom friends, and whose only crime, after all, lay in their having entertained different views of state policy, the ecclesiastical tyrants of this time beheld the dismal scenes which they had called up with feelings of unrelenting triumph. It is recorded, to the eternal infamy of one in particular, Mr David Dickson, that, on seeing the second day's executions at Glasgow, he could not help exclaiming, in a sort of transport of self-congratulation, "The wark gaes bonnily on!" meaning that the religious task of reformation and purification in which he and his brethren had been for so many years engaged, was now proceeding with a degree of energy and success perfectly admirable. His expression, which will remind many readers of the terrific *ça ira* of the French revolutionary period, either found so much sympathy in the bosoms of his friends, or was held in such execration by persons of a different way of thinking, that it became proverbial.²

Montrose lay for some weeks after this affair in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, daily hoping to receive such accessions from the north as would enable him to make a vigorous attack upon the insurgent government. At length, on the 19th of November, when he had fully proved the futility of all his hopes, he resolved to retire once more into the Highlands, in order to try the effect which his personal presence might have upon those who had promised to join him. Notwithstanding that a winter of almost unexampled severity had by this

time set in, and deep snow lay upon the ground, he marched over the hills of Menteith and Strathcarne towards Athole, and from thence through Angus and over the Cairn-a-Mount, into the country of the Gordons; a march comprehending the very wildest districts of the Highlands, but which he accomplished with all his customary celerity.

After his retreat to the north, the Committee of Estates, finding no farther use for General Leslie, sent him back with his army to England, only retaining a small force, under the command of General Middleton, as a sort of guard. The Estates met in full parliament at St Andrews on the 26th of November, and the General Assembly of the Church sat down at the same time and place; for the two now went as naturally and properly together as judge and executioner. The speech with which Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston opened the former meeting, as reported by Sir James Balfour, may be given here, as a most notable illustration of the spirit of the time:—"He intreated them to unite among themselves, to lay all private respects and interests aside, and to do justice on delinquents and malignants; showing that their dallying formerly had provoked God's two great servants against them, the sword and plague of pestilence, which had ploughed up the land with deep furrows; he showed that the massacre of Kilsyth was never to be forgotten, and that God, who was the best judge of the world, would not but judge righteously, and keep in remembrance that sea of innocent blood which lay before his throne, craving for a vengeance on these blood-thirsty rebels, the butchers of so many innocent souls; he showed, likewise, that the times required a more narrow and sharp looking into than

formerly, in respect that the house of parliament was become at this present like Noah's ark, which had in it both foul and clean creatures ; and therefore he besought the Estates there now convened, before that they went about the constitution of that high court of parliament, that they would make one serious search and inquiry after such as were ears and eyes to the enemies of the commonwealth, and did sit there as if there were nothing to say to them ; and therefore he humbly desired that the house might be adjourned till to-morrow at two in the afternoon, and that the several Estates might consider what corrupted members were among them, who had complied with the public enemy of the state, either by themselves, or by their agents or friends." 3

It is curious to observe, in this speech, instead of the liberal sentiments and extended views which are so fondly ascribed to the zealots of that time by their modern admirers and successors, a superstition more gross than is at this day entertained by the abject Spaniard or Portuguese, and an intolerance of fair opposition more violent and uncompromising than could be found at the court of Constantinople.

But it is to the church, perhaps, that we are to look, on this occasion, for the most expressive specimens of cruelty and intolerance. The parliament had, in the first place, appointed a committee of eighteen members to try the delinquents ; and these unfortunate persons had been collected in such numbers to St Andrews, as to fill not only the castle, but even the private houses. It was in vain that they petitioned to be tried by the justice-general, or by their peers : their accusers could intrust the duty of condemning them to no hands

less sure than their own. A delay, however, unavoidably occurred; and the trials did not take place till the beginning of January. During the interval, the Commission of the Church, with an indelicacy which must appear, to modern apprehensions, perfectly monstrous, was perpetually urging parliament to proceed with the great duty of "doing justice upon the malignants." On one day,⁴ scarcely a week after the appointment of the Committee of Process, as the judges were called, an impatient remonstrance was laid before the house by the General Assembly; and at the same time, similar petitions for vengeance were severally presented by the four principal Lowland synods; two hundred persons in all appearing at once in the house on this amiable business. Like Cato, with his incessant "*Delenda est Carthago*," the members of the church seemed determined to cry for vengeance incessantly, and not to cease till it should be executed.

Vengeance was at length inflicted, though not nearly to the extent desired by the worthies of the Assembly. In the first place, "the Irish prisoners taken at and after the battle of Philiphaugh, in all the prisons of the kingdom, especially in the prisons of Selkirk, Jedburgh, Glasgow, Dumbarton, and Perth, were execute, without any assize or process, conforme to the treaty betwix the two kingdoms, passed in act."⁵ Afterwards, on the 17th of January, (1646,) sentence of death was passed on Sir Robert Spottiswood, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, the Honourable William Murray, brother to the Marquis of Tulliebardine, and Captain Andrew Guthry, son to the ex-bishop of Murray. The Earl of Hartfell, and Lord Ogilvie, as the most eminent in rank, and the most malignant in prin-

eiple, had previously been sentenced ; but Ogilvie had escaped from prison in his sister's clothes, by the interest of his friends the Hamiltons, and Argyll had then insisted that Hartfell's life should be given to him, as a compensation, to atone for the disappointment he felt in the escape of Ogilvie, and as a sort of sacrifice on the part of the Hamiltons, who were as anxious to see Hartfell executed, and his estates forfeited in their favour, as he had been to procure the death and attainder of Ogilvie.⁶ It would be vain to inquire into the assumed principles and laws upon which the Scottish parliament proceeded in the trials of these unfortunate individuals. Suffice it to say, that Gordon, Murray, and Guthrie, were found guilty, in terms of the act passed in the preceding year, which had denounced all backsliding from the cause of the Covenant, as inferring the pains of high treason : for Sir Robert Spottiswood, who, having never signed the Covenant, could not be supposed guilty on the same act, they did the favour of erecting a new denomination of crime : It was voted that his having docketted and signed the king's last commission to Montrose, was high treason ; and he was accordingly condemned to suffer like the rest.

Colonel Gordon was the first of the victims that mounted the scaffold. He had previously been excommunicated for adultery, and he now came under obedience to the church, in order to have that dreadful stigma removed. He died expressing sincere repentance of the follies of his youth, but maintaining the propriety of his political conduct during the public troubles, and professing undiminished attachment to the cause in which he suffered. He was followed to the scaffold by Sir Robert Spottiswood.

It is said, that when the people saw this gentleman mount the scaffold, they could not help expressing sentiments of violent compunction and distress. He was the first man of high rank or station that had yet appeared under such circumstances. Many who were now present had seen him, for a long course of years, at Edinburgh, presiding over the highest civil court in the country, and commanding the respect of the nation by his benignant gravity, his profound learning, and his integrity as a judge. The last office he had held was actually the highest in the country next to the king. He had been guilty of no distinct crime, unless the entertainment of different views of church and state policy could be so termed; nor was he reputed to be capable of acting with decided hostility against even that system of government to which he was now falling a sacrifice. Altogether, it was impossible to view so venerable, so worthy, and so innocent an individual, thus submitting to so severe and unmerited a fate, without pity; while the bare abstract consideration that a state of things had now arrived, when the death of men of his order was held necessary to the general interests, had in it something altogether appalling.

Such feelings as these had influenced even the immediate condemnators of this excellent person. "Though many liked not his party," says his biographer,⁷ "they liked his person, which made him many friends even among the Covenanters; inso-much that after the sentence was read, some of the nobility spoke in his behalf, and intreated the house to consider the quality and parts of that excellent gentleman and most just judge, whom they had condemned, and begged earnestly his life might be

spared. But an eminent knowledge and esteem, which, in other cases, might be a motive to save a criminal, was here only the cause of taking an innocent man's life; so dangerous is it, in a corrupt age, to be eminently constant and virtuous. The gentlemen who spoke were told that the authority of the established government was not secure while Sir Robert's life was spared. Whereupon the noblemen who presided at the meeting of the Estates at Glasgow, and in the Parliament at St Andrews, openly declared, when they signed the respective sentences, that they did sign as preses, and in obedience to the command of the Estates, but not as to their particular judgment."

The clergy alone seem to have been incapable of appreciating the worth and greatness which were now about to perish. They had previously endeavoured to persuade the people, that the lives of Sir Robert and his companions were demanded by Heaven, as an expiation of the blood of the saints who had perished in Montrose's wars; that it was even necessary to put them to death, in order to avoid the wrath which the Almighty would otherwise be sure to express against a land which had neglected his service. To reconcile the public more thoroughly to the executions, these daring and most impious men had taken it upon them to assure their audiences, that the delinquents were destined, soul and body, to eternal torments. When Sir Robert Spottiswood was brought upon the scaffold, the Reverend Mr Robert Blair came in attendance, though rather for the purpose of teasing and annoying him, than with any intention of soothing his last moments with the ghostly consolations of religion. It soon became apparent to this man, that the mild and dignified countenance

of the culprit was producing a strong effect upon the minds of the people. On Sir Robert, therefore, turning to the edge of the scaffold and preparing to speak to the bystanders, in an alarm lest his words should increase that effect, he commanded the provost of the town, who also stood on the scaffold, to prevent him from making his harangue. Sir Robert, who had anticipated such treatment, expressed no resentment at it, but took from his pocket a paper containing the speech he intended to deliver, and threw it amidst the populace; immediately after addressing himself to his devotions with an air perfectly unruffled and resigned. While he was engaged in prayer, the reverend gentleman who had previously doomed him so confidently to everlasting perdition, presumed to interrupt him for the purpose of asking "if he would have him (Blair) and the people to pray for the salvation of his soul?" it being probably the opinion of this divine, that Sir Robert's own prayers, seeing that he was a malignant and an Episcopalian, would be of no effect, while there was a hope that some attention might be paid to petitions which were preferred by so favourite a minister of the Almighty as himself, and so worthy a people as those who surrounded him. Sir Robert was at length provoked a little by the rudeness of the man, and could not help saying, that, though he was willing and anxious to have the prayers of the people, he certainly would have no concern with his; adding that, of all the plagues with which the offended majesty of God had thought proper to visit this land, the greatest was the lying spirit which he had, for the sins of the people, put into the mouths of the prophets. Blair fumed with very rage at this etah, and began a violent tirade against both Arch-

bishop Spottiswood, who had been long dead, and his son who was now about to die ; but Sir Robert paid no attention to his invectives. Rather perhaps induced by them to hasten his own end, he now advanced to the instrument of execution, and, only uttering the words, " Merciful Jesus ! gather my soul unto thy saints and martyrs, who have run before me in this race," gave the signal which had been agreed upon for the descent of the fatal axe.

Captain Guthry was next brought upon the stage, and him Blair also assailed with his insolent threats and scurrilities. But the courage of the youthful soldier, and his purer religion, enabled him to set this mistaken man at defiance, and to meet his fate as became a gallant cavalier.

The Honourable William Murray should also have been sacrificed on this dreadful day ;^s but his brother, the Marquis of Tulliebardine, had prevailed upon the parliament to give him a respite of three days. Some circumstances attended the condemnation and death of this young gentleman, calculated to show in a more lively manner than any yet related, the abeyance into which all natural feelings and affections had fallen in the breasts of the Covenanters, beneath the public spirit which possessed them. Two or three months before, on the Commission of the Kirk sending a deputation to the Committee of Estates, to press the execution of the prisoners, the members of the latter body were found in a strange quandary as to their conduct, on account of the Marquis of Tulliebardine, one of their chief friends, being the brother of a distinguished person amongst the prisoners. Inspired with a respect for Tulliebardine, " divers of the chief lords of the committee saw it necessary

to slight the overture of the kirk ; and so the deputation were like to have obtained nothing."⁹ But the Earl of Tulliebardine soon relieved the committee from its delicate predicament, and reassured the churchmen of their prospects of vengeance, by rising up and saying, " That, if their lordships were loath, out of respect to him, on account of his brother, to resolve upon the question in hand, he begged to assure them that they greatly miscalculated his sentiments ; since his brother had joined with Montrose's wicked crew, he had ceased to esteem him as a brother ; he was now quite willing to concur with them in whatever decision they should see fit to make in regard to the prisoners ; nay, he would consider it no favour, if, upon his account, any indulgence were granted to these detestable malignants." At this amiable speech, the other members of the committee, feeling a shame to which the speaker was a stranger, held down their heads. But they nevertheless took advantage of his frankness, to enrol his brother's name amongst the ten whom at this period they thought fit to destine for execution. It may be proper to add the reservation regarding the truth of this anecdote, which the single historian upon whose credit it rests,¹⁰ has appended to it. " Whether or no," says he, " the Earl of Tulliebardine spoke so in the Committee of Estates, I leave undetermined ; but that Mr Bennet (the head of the clerical deputation) reported it of him in the Commission of the Kirk, and that the two who were with him gave their assent to it, I may confidently aver, being an ear-witness thereof."

Having probably found afterwards that his unnatural conduct excited the disgust even of those who were most benefited by it, Tulliebardine, on

the day subsequent to that on which sentence had been pronounced, presented a petition to the house, praying for his brother's life, "in respect, as he averred on his honour, that the young man was not *compas mentis*, as also within age."¹¹ But the house rejected his petition, and he afterwards was able to procure only the brief respite which has been mentioned, the parliament having probably found it too late to make an exception in favour of one whom they were already committed before the public to involve in the same destruction with so many others equally innocent. Various reasons were ascribed by the public voice for Tulliebardine's conduct on the occasion; indolence and inactivity, desire of his brother's patrimony, and mere zeal for what he conceived the national interest. He was probably actuated by all the three.

When brought to the scaffold, young Murray, malignant as he was, gained a higher degree of esteem among the spectators by his intrepid conduct, than Tulliebardine had done by the Roman virtue which he had just exerted in their own behalf. There was something in his last speech which even touched the hearts of that rude and stern multitude. "I hope, my countrymen!" he exclaimed, "you will reckon that the house of Tulliebardine, and the whole family of Murray, have this day acquired a new and no small addition of honour, inasmuch as a young man,¹² descended of that ancient race, has, though innocent and in the flower of his age, with the greatest readiness and cheerfulness, delivered up his life for his king, the father of his people, and the most munificent patron and benefactor of that family from which he is sprung. Let not my honoured mother, my dearest sisters,

my kindred, nor my friends, lament the shortness of my life, seeing that it is so abundantly recompensed by the honour of my death. Pray for my soul, and God be with you !”

Even after the market-crosses of Glasgow and St Andrews had been thus drenched with blood, the church remained still unsatisfied, and eagerly pressed the parliament that another selection of victims might be made to grace the scaffold. But the leading noblemen, with better sense, refused the petition, and informed their clerical friends that they would now rather receive an overture pointing out some less extreme mode of punishing the delinquents. “ The Commission,” says Guthry, “ having taken it into their consideration, there were divers opinions about it; but that which gained greatest applause, was Mr David Dickson’s, who, being asked by the moderator what he thought best to be done with them, answered in his homely way of speaking, ‘ Shame them and herry them !’ [*disgrace and pillage them,*] which was accordingly made the overture, to be preferred to parliament, in reference to the malignants.” The parliament determined eventually upon classing these obnoxious individuals according to their various degrees of criminality, and imposing fines upon them proportionate to these degrees ; it being perhaps apparent to them that no mode of punishment could be so agreeable to either their interests or those of the people, as one which tended to enrich themselves and relieve the public of its burdens.

Montrose was in the meantime exerting himself to raise such an army in the north, as might enable him to make head once more against the parliament. As a last desperate effort for the acquisition of Huntly, who had hitherto always avoided

him, he suddenly threw himself in the way of that nobleman, and, by calmly reasoning with him about the injury he was doing the king's affairs by his backwardness, endeavoured to prevail upon him, either to rise in person at the head of his Gordons, or to permit them at least to join him under other commanders. But Huntly, who had formed independent schemes of insurrection, and who seems to have aspired to the very object which Montrose himself had in view—that of restoring the king by means of the Scottish loyalists, could upon no account be persuaded to accede to any of his views. There is considerable variance in the theories which the Scottish historians have formed regarding the motives of Huntly's conduct at this period; but it seems unquestionable that, among the many reasons he had for abstaining from a junction with Montrose, the principal one was a wish to act a primary instead of a secondary part in the royal service.

Leaving him to follow out his own plans, Montrose, about the end of December, marched to besiege Inverness; a town which, with its garrison of Covenanters, had all along proved a grievous drawback to the services of the Highlanders, inso-much that there was no prospect of their joining him in any considerable numbers so long as it existed in a condition capable of annoying the country in their absence. In passing through Strathspey, he sent off a party to Athele, under Drummond of Balloch, for the purpose of protecting that country from the Campbells, who, he learned, were now so much pressed by MacCol as to be under the necessity of removing from their own districts into those of the most inimical clans.

Balloch was successful in his enterprise. Being

joined in Athole by Graham of Inchbrakie and all the loyalists of the district, so that he had an army of about seven hundred in all, he chased the twelve hundred migrating Campbells by Glenogil and the head of Stratherne, into Menteith, attacked them at a ford near the village of Callander, and cut them almost all off. But Montrosé himself was not so successful. Before he reached Inverness, it had been supplied with new stores and provisions by the Covenanters. He therefore lay for weeks before it in vain; till at last General Middleton advanced upon him from Aberdeen, and compelled him to retire into the county of Ross, and afterwards, by a circuit, into Strathspey. He spent the greater part of the spring (1646) in fruitless marches and counter-marches; constantly endeavouring to excite a simultaneous rise among the Highland royalists, but as constantly finding them too much terrified by the increasing power of the parliament to venture upon the enterprise on a large enough scale, or with sufficient vigour.

Before relating the final termination of his campaign, now on the point of taking place, it will be necessary to take up the meagre thread of general history, which can alone be afforded in this work, at the point where it was last dropt; the march of the Scottish army (January 1644) to the assistance of the English parliament in their contest with the king.

When strengthened by that important aid, the English parliamentary army immediately assumed that ascendancy which had hitherto been borne by the arms of the king. They speedily acquired possession of the northern district of England, where, with the exception of the towns of Hull and Berwick, the king had previously reigned triumphant;

and at the battle of Long Marston Moor, (July 1644,) they gave such an overthrow to the royal arms as caused the campaign to close with an aspect decidedly favourable to them. A treaty was then entered into with the king at Uxbridge; but the exorbitance of their demands, and the hopes which the king still entertained of ultimate victory—hopes in which he was greatly encouraged by the repeated successes of Montrose in Scotland—caused the negotiations to be broken off with mutual disgust and increased animosity. By a strange decree which was immediately afterwards passed by the English Parliament—termed the Self-denying Ordinance—great additional vigour was given to their army. The command then passed from Essex, Manchester, and others of the Presbyterian party, who, as members of the Parliament, were supposed to be incapable of holding office, into the hands of Oliver Cromwell, a private gentleman of Northamptonshire, who originally entered the army at the head of a horse regiment raised by himself, but who had distinguished himself above all his equals by superior military talents, and was now one of the most conspicuous men in the kingdom. It was by the machinations of Cromwell alone that the Self-denying Ordinance was achieved; and from the period when it took effect, it was evident that he was acting upon a scheme of ambition distinct from the interests of the Parliament, whose servant he had hitherto been.

The campaign of 1645, which opened immediately after the army was new-modelled, was destined to complete the triumph of the Parliament over their king. They gained a splendid victory over his majesty at Naseby, (July 1645,)

and another, immediately after, at Newbury. The contemporaneous defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh, the dispersion of the party which he sent north to succour that commander, and the loss of a number of his best forts, drove the king almost to despair; and he was, at the end of the campaign, obliged to take refuge in Oxford, nearly destitute of a field army.

Before this period, in terms of the Solemn League and Covenant, an assembly of divines, selected impartially from all creeds and sects, had been sitting for nearly three years at Westminster, in deliberation upon the form of worship and church-government which should be instituted over both nations, in place of the abrogated forms of Episcopacy. It would be vain, in a work like the present, to trace all the intricate intrigues and disputes which distinguished the proceedings of this body. Suffice it to state, that owing to the unexpected opposition of the Independents, a sect which aimed at a complete suppression of the clerical character, the Scottish commissioners found it impossible to procure the establishment of Presbyterian church-government in England, on that scale of tyranny and purity which they conceived indispensable:¹³ they could only succeed in establishing a form of worship, and a catechism of doctrine,¹⁴ agreeable to their wishes. The nation was, of course, very much chagrined at the miserable issue of their grand religious mission; and, had it happened at a somewhat earlier period, they might, by the withdrawal of their army, have embarrassed the English parliament in such a way as to make them repent the unsatisfactory extent of the reformation. But the English had, fortunately, taken care to postpone the conclusion of the Assembly till the period

when such an act on the part of the Scots was of very little moment to them, or was rather to be desired than otherwise; and thus the Scots might be said to have broken faith with their king, and had two years of hard fighting, with exactly that deficiency of advantage to themselves which, from the nature of things, must be the general result of all enterprises, the motives of which are in the least degree of doubtful propriety.

The state of parties in the spring of 1646 was precisely this: The king and the royalists were reduced to the last degree of weakness, insomuch that it was necessary for his majesty to select, from the various bands of his enemies, one from whom he might request quarter. The English parliament was still, to all appearance, powerful, though in reality beginning to be deserted by public favour on account of the peculations of the members as individuals, and its tyranny as a body, and, moreover, weakened by the independence which Cromwell had achieved for the army. The Independents, who governed the army, or rather composed it, were fast acquiring the ascendancy which the parliament was losing; for the public mind, cast loose from Episcopacy, and having dragged its anchors over the shoals of Presbytery, was every day verging nearer to that chaos of vague fanaticism in which the religious sentiments of this body might be said to consist. The Scots, who composed the fourth and last party, were now lying in a great measure inactive in the north of England; disgusted with what they considered the ingratitude of the English for their services, but determined not to retire till they were at least reckoned with for their stipulated pay.

It was, perhaps, in consideration of the cause of

offence which the Scots had against the two other parties of his enemies, that the king selected them as the most likely to afford him the protection he wanted. At the end of April, 1646, having privately retired from Oxford, he appeared, after a journey of eleven days, before the Scottish leaguer at Newark, in the disguise of a postilion. The officers, who are generally believed to have had no expectation of his majesty's arrival, expressed the utmost surprise at his appearance; but they received him, as he had calculated, with sufficient external respect. "The general himself," says Kirkton, "rendered his bare sword upon his knee, which, it was observed, the king did not re-deliver. When he first came into the Scottish quarters, he offered to play the general himself, in commanding the souldiers' posts and settling the guards, till old Leslie told him, in his homely manner, that he, being the elder souldier, would save his majesty that labour: after which he forbore."

The surrender of the king concluded the Civil War; for, as a testimony of the desire which he professed for peace, he gratified the English parliament by a resignation of his last-remaining fortresses, and the Scots by a retraction of Montrose's commission.

It was the last day of May, and Montrose was just on the point of executing a project he had formed for impressing an army throughout the Highlands, when he was overtaken by intelligence of the king's surrender, and at the same time by an order from his majesty, commanding him to disband his troops and withdraw from the kingdom. He was of course grieved to the last degree by an event which so completely and at once put a period to his cherished schemes of glory; and, in a sort

of despair, he wrote a private letter to the king, requesting to be informed if it was really his wish that he should lay down his arms, and proposing, should that not be the case, to hold out to the last, and even to attempt his rescue from the Covenanters, if he should so desire. He was only answered by a second public or official order for the resignation of his arms; on which he again sent up a messenger to make private inquiry into the king's real wishes. Charles, who was under great apprehensions regarding this zealous servant, lest he should fall a sacrifice to his implacable enemies, then saw fit to appoint the Duke of Hamilton to negotiate his safe retirement from Scotland.

Hamilton, who had suffered two years' imprisonment in the king's castles of Pendennis and Mount St Michael, chiefly by the instigation of Montrose, and who, now that he was again at liberty, and restored to the king's favour, could not be supposed to entertain a strong affection for that nobleman; nevertheless undertook to procure a sort of indemnity for him from the Covenanters. He, in the first place, engaged his friend Colonel Lockhart, a gentleman serving under General Middleton, to hold a conference with Montrose, and inform him of the conditions which he might expect from the ruling powers. Lockhart having deputed the office to his commanding officer, Middleton and Montrose met, on the 22d of July, by the banks of the river Ilay in Angus, "and conferred for the space of two hours, there being none near them but one man for each of them to hold his horse;"¹⁵ when, it being proposed to Montrose that he himself, with the Earl of Crawford and Sir John Hurry, should be excepted from pardon, but permitted to retire beyond seas, while the act of attainder should be re-

verned in favour of all the rest of his followers, he saw fit to agree. Some difficulty was experienced in carrying the terms through the committee of parliament; but it was managed by the influence of Hamilton and Lanark, though not without a violent protest being made by the Church, whose members professed to consider all treating with such an enemy as violative of the Covenant.¹⁶

The ceremony of the dissolution of Montrose's little army, which took place on the last day of July at Rattray, near Cupar-Angus, has been described in eloquent terms by Bishop Wishart, who probably witnessed the scene. "Having convened the men to a rendezvous, after giving them due praise for their faithful services and good behaviour, he told them his orders, and bid them farewell; an event not less sorrowful to the whole army than to himself; for, notwithstanding that he used his utmost endeavours to raise their drooping spirits, and encourage them with the flattering prospect of a speedy and desirable peace, and assured them that he contributed to the king's safety and interest by his present ready submission, no less than he had formerly done by his military attempts; yet they concluded that a period was that day put to the king's authority, which would expire with the dissolution of their army; for the disbanding of which they were all convinced the orders had been extorted from the king, or granted by him on purpose to evite a greater and more immediate evil. And, upon whatever favourable conditions their safety might be provided for, yet they lamented their own fate, and would much rather have undergone the greatest fatigues and hardships, than be obliged to remain inactive spectators of the miseries and calamities befalling their dearest sovereign.

Their sorrow was considerably augmented by the thoughts of being separated from their brave and successful general, who was now obliged to enter into a kind of banishment, to the irreparable loss of the king, the country, themselves, and all good men, at a time when they never had greater occasion for his service. Falling down upon their knees, with tears in their eyes, they obtested him, that, seeing the king's safety and interest required his immediate departure from the kingdom, he would take them along with him, to whatever corner of the world he should retire, professing their readiness to live, fight, nay, if it so pleased God, even to die under his command. And not a few of them had privately determined, though with the evident risk of their lives and fortunes, to follow him without his knowledge, and even against his inclination, and to offer him their service in a foreign land, which they could not any longer afford him in their own distressed native country."¹⁷

When the army was thus broken up, the Irish were conducted, by the proscribed Earl of Crawford, towards Kintyre, there to embark for their own country; the Earl of Airly, and all the rest of the Scottish loyalists, returned to their own homes; and the Marquis himself went to his seat of Old Montrose, in Angus, to prepare for his departure, which was stipulated to take place before the 1st of September.

The dangers which this noble person endured for his unfortunate master, did not end with the conclusion he had thus put to his campaign. The Estates had engaged to afford him a vessel to carry him off; but, to his unspeakable consternation, they did not send it till the very last day of August, and, when it did arrive, it was found to be under

the command of a person of very forbidding manners. There were, moreover, a number of war-vessels, belonging to the English Parliament and the Scottish Estates, which hovered near the harbour of Montrose, apparently for no other purpose than to capture him as soon as he should put out to sea. It altogether seemed as if the enemy intended "to keep the word of promise to the ear, but break it to the hope." So fully were his followers possessed with this idea, that many of them counselled him to retire to the Highlands, and endeavour, by resuming arms, to procure more certain conditions. He himself was convinced of the same fact; but he shrunk from the thought of renewing the war, for his own sake, when to do so might involve his sovereign in deeper distresses. Finally, on the 3d of September, having previously sent off his adherents and servants from the neighbouring port of Stonehaven, he ventured to embark at Montrose in a small vessel, different from that which the Estates had sent for him, attended by only a clergyman, and disguised as the servant of that personage; by which cautious measures he contrived to elude the vessels which blocked up the harbour, and in a few days he got safe to the port of Bergen, on the coast of Norway.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSION OF THE CIVIL WAR.

All corners were filled with Covenanters, confusion, committeemen, and soldiers, serving each other to their ends of revenge, or power, or profit; and these committeemen were possessed with this Covenant.

ISAAC WALTON.

THE war being concluded everywhere over the kingdom, and the king having expressed his readiness to enter into terms with the two parliaments, a set of conditions were drawn up by the commissioners of both kingdoms, by his accession to which he was told that peace would be secured, and he himself once more settled in his government.

Unfortunately for Charles, and for his country, these terms were so extremely hard that, without the dereliction of every honourable principle, without unkinging, without unmanning himself, he could not comply with them. The most prominent required him to sign the Solemn League and Covenant, and thereby to abolish the Episcopalian religion; an act which he could not do without violating the Coronation Oath, as well as an engagement which he had sacramented in the face of his army at the beginning of the war, whereby he had vowed to sustain that form of worship and church-government till his latest breath. By ano-

ther condition, he was required to resign the command of his army to his parliament for twenty years; and by another, to permit that legislative body to appoint all his officers of state. He was also required by this rigorous treaty to consent to the attainder and exception from pardon of all those individuals who had served him in the late contest with most peculiar zeal.

When Charles was informed of the nature of these proposals, and at the same time told that only ten days were allowed him to consider of them, and that those who brought them had no power to discuss them with him, he answered in despair, that, "saving the honour of the business, an honest trumpeter might have done as well." He was secretly implored by the leaders of the Presbyterian party of both countries to accede to the treaty, the severity of which, he was told, was not so much owing to their own hostility to him, as it was adopted for the purpose of subduing the Independents; who, according to their representation, wished for nothing so much as that he might refuse them, in order that they might have a pretext for dethroning him and his family, and establishing their own wild republican theories both in church and state. The Earl of Loudoun, the most eloquent of all the Scottish commissioners, pointed out in a long speech the danger to be apprehended from the Independents and the English army, in case his Majesty should refuse to join his only real friends, the Presbyterians; and the Earl of Leven, with a hundred other officers, knelt before him to beseech his acceptance of the treaty. But the conscientious monarch, now apparently the only man in his dominions who had the courage to do right at the risk of destruction, resolutely re-

jected it. When his refusal was reported in the House of Commons, the Presbyterians were thrown into a state of dreadful alarm, seeing in this measure destruction to their own moderate principles of monarchy, and triumph to the wild democracy of the Independents. On a vote of thanks being proposed to the commissioners for their management of the treaty, one Independent whispered another in the ear, that they owed more thanks to the king than any body; and, in another corner of the house, a Presbyterian having said to an Independent, in a sort of despair, "What shall become of us since the king refuseth these propositions?" the Independent answered, "Nay, what would have become of us if he had granted them?"¹

From this point every step which Charles took was towards the scaffold. The party most inimical to him, including the Independents, now opened up their celebrated bargain with the Scottish army for the possession of his person; the first of that series of strong measures by which they gradually brought him to the block.

It was by a very singular combination of party interests that this infamous transaction was negotiated. The English Presbyterians, be it remarked, although looking upon the Scots as their natural allies, were anxious for the disbanding of their army, on account not only of the burden which it laid upon the country, but also that it might serve as a precedent for the dissolution of their own forces, the independency of which they had much reason to dread. They were also anxious for possession of the king's person, in order that they might employ it as an auxiliary to their own strength against the Independents, and also that, having it secure in their own hands, they might,

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without disturbance on its account, prosecute their own schemes for the settlement of the nation, or rather for the partition of the government amongst themselves. On the other hand, the Independents entered into the scheme of purchasing the king's body from the Scots, under the impression that it was a stage towards their own grand object—that of securing it for themselves, and, by annihilating it, establishing their republic. They were also glad to see the measure of disbanding the Scots associated with that of purchasing the king, because that army might now be considered, in its consistent Presbyterianism, as opposed in principle to the English army, and therefore as likely some day to turn its arms against themselves.

As for the motives of the Scots, who are alone blamed by the voice of history, as well as that of tradition, for their part in the transaction, it may simply be said, that, in the first place, they could not retain the king without the risk of national ruin, as it must have inevitably involved them in a war with the whole of England; in the second place, they had no motive for protecting him, seeing that he refused to sanction their Presbyterian form of church government and worship over both kingdoms; in the third place, by surrendering his person, they were solaced with two hundred thousand pounds of ready money, and as much more in prospect.

There was something, I am strongly tempted to think, highly characteristic of the Scottish nation in their mode of managing this bargain. To give that air of external decency to the business, which Scotsmen desiderate in the most infamous employments, they kept the negotiation for the delivery of the king quite distinct in seeming, from the ar-

rangements regarding the payment of his price. The former affair, according to their account, was a matter entirely by the by, or contingent. The real ostensible object of the treaty was the settlement of those arrears of pay which, since the beginning of the war, had been gradually accumulating. They seemed as if they would scarcely speak of the two things in the same day ; and, in reality, the papers which passed to and fro betwixt them and their customers, did not in any one instance allude to both matters together. The nurse in *Romeo and Juliet*, who protests against taking bribes from her mistress's lovers, all the time that she is receiving one into the hand which for that purpose she has put behind her back, is not a more lively emblem of hypocritical panderism than was the conduct on this occasion of the sacred army of the Covenant.

Some attempts have been made by Scottish historians to exculpate their country from the obloquy which was thrown upon it, and which still continues to load it, on account of this infamous transaction. They have endeavoured to prove it, what the Scots themselves represented it at the time, a fair and honourable arrangement for the liquidation of a debt due by England to Scotland, only accompanied incidentally by the surrender of the person of the king. Until proof can be brought, however, that the Scots could have compelled the English to do them justice without the resignation of the king ; till it can be proved that their claims, fair or unfair, would have been allowed by the English parliament, on any other conditions or by any other arguments ; the stigma which the moral sense of the nation affixed upon them at the time must certainly remain : they must be held, as the

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writer of the *Memoirs of the Somervilles* quaintly observes, to have "sold the bear's skin while it was yet upon his back."

It seems, at the same time, somewhat hard, that the Englishman should be permitted to point with scorn to

" — the Scot

Who sold his sovereign for a great,"

while he himself is forgiven by history for the crime, scarcely less dark, of having purchased him.² If there be any truth in the adage that the resetter is worse than the thief, it may even be questioned, whether the opulent Englishman who held out the temptation is not guiltier than the needy Scot who yielded to it. It seems to be at the same time forgotten or forgiven to the English, that it was a party amongst them which afterwards took advantage of the king's misfortunes to put him to death; while, in Scotland, there was scarcely such a thing as a party willing to sanction that deed, but, on the contrary, the people rose nearly *en masse*, and, throwing their Covenant aside for the time, gave themselves up to the grand and truly generous object of rescuing him.

But England was guilty of even a meaner sin than any of these; a sin, indeed, of nearly the same degree of meanness with the vendition of the king, and one, it may be remarked, fully as characteristic of itself, as the delicacy of the Scots was of their country. By an exertion of that commercial acuteness in which it so far surpassed all other countries, its commissioners contrived on this occasion to cheat the Scots out of much more money than the sum which formed the price of the king. The whole amount of pay due to the Scottish nation for its services in England during three years, was

two millions. The Scots allowed by their accounts that they had received in money and commodities seven hundred thousand. The English, on their part, represented that they had paid fourteen hundred thousand. Now, it is clearly probable, from a consideration of the items, that the statement of the Scots was much nearer the truth than that of the English. The English were only able to swell their account to what they stated it, by the basest methods, by putting items to the credit of the Scots which never should have been accounted, and by overcharging others. Is it probable, for instance, attached as the people of Scotland were and are to the species of food termed in Scotland *hail* and in England *broth*, that, in so short a space of time an army of twenty thousand men devoured *eighty thousand pounds worth of cabbage*?³ And, even allowing that fourteen thousand pounds had been paid in money and goods to the Scots, were two hundred thousand in hand, and a remote and insecure promise of as much more, an adequate payment of the balance?

The best apology, however, which can be made for Scotland in regard to the sale of their king, is, that it was done, not by the whole nation, but only by a party, and by a party, too, which happened to be placed in very peculiar circumstances. In the pretended parliament which ratified the bargain, there were not above a third of the nobility present, the other two thirds being either secluded on account of their malignancy, or awed from coming forward by the fear of fines. It has been asserted by one who mingled in all the transactions of the time, and who must have known the pulse of the country throughout all these its various fevers, that, excepting in Fife and the south-western counties, (about a

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fourth of Scotland,) there were a hundred private individuals that abhorred the measure for one that agreed with it.⁴ The minority in parliament, which refused to accede to it, consisted in the Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Lanark, Tulliebar-dine, and Kinghorn, the Lords Spynie and Elibank, the Lairds of Halkerton, Innerpeffer, Monargan, and Carden, and the commissioners for the burghs of Forfar, Brechin, and Tain. The two first noble-men, who were perhaps the most consistent loyal-ists and at the same time the truest patriots of their time, endeavoured, by the employment of their great family influence in the country, to procure a rejection of the measure; and there was some-thing above the mere politician in the speech which the Duke of Hamilton, the first peer of the land, made at the conclusion of the debate,⁵ in favour of his unfortunate cousin and master. "Would Scotland," he exclaimed, in allusion to the sup-posed antiquity of the royal line, "now quit a possession of fifteen hundred years' date, which was their interest in their sovereign, and quit it to those whose enmity against both him and themselves did now so visibly appear? Was this the effect of their protestations of duty and affec-tion to his majesty? Was this their keeping of their Covenant, wherein they had sworn to defend the king's majesty's person and authority? Was this a suitable return to the king's goodness, both in his consenting to all the desires of that kingdom, in the year 1641, and in his late trusting his per-son to them? What censures would be passed upon this through the whole world? What a stain would it be to the whole reformed religion? What danger might be apprehended, in consequence of it, both to the king's person, and to Scotland,

from the party that was now prevalent in England?" When his grace's vote was asked, he uttered the usual monosyllabic negative in a voice evidently deepened by sorrow; but on the question coming to his brother, the Earl of Lanark, that brave young nobleman exclaimed, in a voice equally emphatic, "As God shall have mercy upon my soul at the great day, I would choose rather to have my head struck off at the Market-cross of Edinburgh, than give my consent to this vote!" And, when the vote was fairly passed, and the act ratified, Lanark added with a deep groan, in allusion to the popular title of the day on which the articles of Perth were ratified in 1621, a day supposed to have been cursed from heaven by reason of the dark thunder-storm and the dark political transaction which simultaneously befell upon it, "This is the *blackest Saturday* that Scotland ever saw!"⁶

On the 28th of January, 1647, the Scottish army, having received the price of the king in six-and-thirty covered waggons, delivered his person to the English commissioners appointed to receive it, and immediately returned to their own country, where they were disbanded.⁷

Before proceeding farther with the general history of this period, it will be necessary to detail a military enterprise which David Leslie undertook in Scotland, immediately after the disbanding of the army, for the final suppression of the insurrections of Huntly and Montrose.

It is a curious fact, not hitherto noted in the history of England, but which seems certain from the recent publication of the Sutherland family manuscript,⁸ that, after Charles had surrendered all his places of strength in England, ordered the depar-

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ture of Montrose, and apparently resigned himself entirely and without reserve into the hands of the Scottish parliament and army, he still kept up an armed loyalist party in Scotland, into whose arms he entertained some thoughts of throwing himself, or which he at least calculated upon as a last resource for the protection of his person, in the event of its being threatened by his present protectors, and provided that he could make his escape from them. "About the middle of December,"⁹ proceeds the family memoir just quoted, "Robert Leslie, brother to Lieutenant General Leslie, came from the king out of Newcastle, with letters and a private commission to the Marquis of Huntly, showing that his majestie had a mind to free himself from the Scots armie at Newcastle; and, if he might escape, he would come to him in some part of the north of Scotland; and therefore desired him to have in readiness what forces he could make. Immediately after Robert Leslie went away, Huntly raiseth all the forces he could, and makes his rendezvous at Banff, which he fortifies; and there he stayed the rest of the following winter."

From the circumstance of Huntly continuing in arms after the king was rendered to the English parliament, it would appear that, even then, the unfortunate monarch entertained hopes of escape from the party which possessed his person, and of surrounding himself with a cavalier army, which should procure for him either a victory over both Presbyterians and Independents, or at least more reasonable terms of peace than they now offered him. It was probably also, in the prospect of becoming useful in such an event, and by a secret understanding with the king to that effect, that Montrose's major-general, Sir Alaster MacCol, still

lingered with his Irish and Highland forces in Argyll.

To take away this last cavalier prop from the king, the Scottish parliament conceived it their duty and interest, after the return of their army, to send part of the staff, under Lieutenant-General Leslie, against the Marquis of Huntly. This loyal commander, who had, in the previous month of May, displayed more than his usual vigour, by taking Aberdeen out of the hands of a strong Covenanting garrison, and who had successfully repelled an attack latterly made upon his leaguer at Banff, by a party of the parliamentary forces, proved totally unfit to withstand the body of veteran soldiers which Leslie brought for his suppression. Retiring from a struggle in which he had no prospect of being successful, he betook himself to the mountainous recesses of Badenoch, where the people were chiefly his vassals, leaving only a few parties in the low country, to garrison the principal strengths. Leslie proceeded to reduce these strengths, before attempting to follow the marquis into his mountain fastness. He first took the castle of Strabogie, with its commander, the Laird of Newton-Gordon, whom he sent to Edinburgh. Next, he captured the castle of Lesmore. Then he reduced the strong house of the Bog of Gicht, now Gordon Castle, and the principal seat of the family, the captain of which, James Gordon of Letterfurie, together with his brother, Thomas Gordon of Clasterim, and others, he also dispatched prisoners to Edinburgh. Finally, he took the fortified isle of Lochanner in Aboyne.¹⁰ The garrisons of all these places he admitted to quarter, except the Irish, who were invariably shot, without mercy or ceremony, immediately after

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the capture of the houses in which they were found.¹¹

When the Lowland portion of Huntly's territory had been thus reduced, the Presbyterian general invaded his Highland districts, and speedily captured the fortresses of Ruthven in Badenoch, and Inverlochy in Lochaber. Then, leaving his major-general, Middleton, in garrison over the country, and to achieve, if possible, the seizure of Huntly's person, Leslie moved forward, with fourteen hundred foot and two troops of horse, to suppress the strength which MacCol still kept up in Argyle.

Towards the end of May, (1647,) Leslie had advanced to Inverary, being accompanied on his march by the Marquis of Argyle, and other chieftains of the clan Campbell, all of them anxious to witness and share in the defeat of one who had proved so severe a scourge to their lands and vassals. It is said by Sir James Turner, an experienced officer, who accompanied the expedition, and has left an account of it, that, if Alaster had had the good sense to defend the passes which lead from Inverary into the peninsula of Kintyre, where he now was, Leslie must have only been able to force an entry by a miracle—perhaps been defeated in the attempt. Unfortunately for the brave but imprudent Highlander, he had taken no such precaution. He did not bring up his men to oppose the Presbyterian general, till his horse had fairly passed through those difficult straits, and reached the level country beyond. A skirmish there took place which lasted a whole day, (May 25,) but as the horse of the enemy had full room to act, it was unsuccessful to MacCol. He retreated next day to his boats, and transported the

whole of his force over to the islands, except only three hundred men, partly Irish, and partly Highlanders of the clan Dougal, or Coull, which he left behind to garrison a fort called Dunavertie on the mainland.

This fort Leslie immediately besieged and took, and the fate to which he consigned its unhappy inmates, remains, perhaps, one of the foulest blots that ever stained the memory of a Christian soldier. It was impossible that the fort should have held out, because, standing as it did upon the top of a hill, it had no supply of water except what fell from the clouds. When intolerable thirst compelled the garrison to capitulate, Leslie received them, not on condition of quarter, or as coming under his own discretion, but as submitting themselves unconditionally to the mercy of the government. This "nice distinction," as Sir James Turner terms it, seems to have been adopted, purely for the purpose of throwing the blame of the massacre which was to ensue off his own shoulders, upon those of the Campbells who were to execute it, or rather upon those of the Marquis of Argyle and a clergyman accompanying him, who, on the present occasion, acting as the representatives of the parliament and kirk, the two dominant powers of the kingdom, seem to have taken it upon them to order the massacre. It is not certain, be it remarked, that Argyle really ordered, or even counselled the deed in question, though such a charge formed one of the items of his indictment after the Restoration; but there can at least be no doubt that Mr John Nevery, or Neaves, the clergyman mentioned, assumed the privilege of a representative of the Church of Scotland to urge Leslie to its execution. "I know that the

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lieutenant-general," such are the words of Sir James Turner, "was of himself unwilling to shed these men's blood; but Mr John Nave, who was appointed by the Commission of the Kirk to wait upon him as his chaplain, never ceased to tempt him to that bloodshed, yea, and threatened him with the curses that befell Saul for sparing the Amalekites—for with them his theology taught him to compare the Dunavertie men: and I verily believe that this prevailed most with David Leslie, who looked upon Nave as the representative of the Kirk of Scotland." Accordingly, to use the careless language of this rough soldier, "having come out of the castle, these fellows were put to the sword, every mother's son of them, except one young man, Mackoul, whose life I begged, to be sent to France." Bishop Guthrie adds, as a fact which he had heard stated by many ear-witnesses, that, as Argyle, Leslie, and Neaves, were walking through the scene, "*over the ankles in blood*," the general turned about and said to his saintly chaplain, "Now, Mr John, have you not for once got your fill of blood?" an expression the most sublimely horrible, perhaps, that ever any villain of the deepest dye used to another.¹²

From the mainland Leslie boated himself, with eighty troopers, over to Islay, in pursuit of Mac-Col. There he found that the loyalist general, with his customary imprudence, had gone to Ireland, leaving two hundred men with his father Colkittoch, in a fortress called Dunniveg, precisely similar to Dunavertie. Siege being immediately laid to this fort, the garrison, after a stout resistance, were obliged to capitulate for want of water. Having been able, however, to procure better terms than their friends in Kintyre, their

lives were spared, with the single exception of Col. Kitchin himself, who, having come out of the castle "on some parole or other," says Sir James Turner, "to speak with his old friend the captain of Dunstaffnage, was surprised and made prisoner, not without some stain to the lieutenant-general's honour. He was afterwards hanged by a jury of the Marquis of Argyle's depute, one George Campbell, from whose sentence few are said to have escaped that kind of death."¹²

The remainder of this enterprise of terror may be best given in Sir James Turner's own words. "From Ila," says he, "we boated over to Jura, a horrid isle, and a habitation fit for deers and wild beasts; and so from isle to isle, till we came to Mull, which is one of the best of the Hebrides. Here MacLaine saved his lands, with the loss of his reputation, if he ever had any. He gave up his strong castles to Leslie, gave his eldest sonne for hostage of his fidelity, and, which was unchristian baseness in the lowest degree, he delivered up fourteen very prettie Irishmen, who had been all along faithful to him, to the lieutenant-general, who immediately caused hang them all. It was not well done to demand them from MacLaine, but inexcusable ill done in him to betray them. Here I cannot forget one Donald Campbell, fleshed in blood from his very infancie, who with all imaginable violence pressed that the whole clan MacLaine should be put to the edge of the sword; nor could he be commanded to forbear his bloody suit by the lieutenant-general and two major-generals; and with some difficulty was he commanded silence by his chief the Marques of Argyle. For my part, I said nothing, for indeed I did not care though he had prevailed in his suit, the delivery of the Irish

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had so much irritated me against that whole clan and name."¹⁴

Leslie returned to the Low Country in September, when he was honoured with universal approbation for his diligent behaviour in the late enterprise, the success of which was thought worthy to be congratulated by a general fast. Before this period, Major-General Middleton had sent, as prisoners to Edinburgh, three of the chief adherents of the Marquis of Huntly, Gordon of Innermarkie, the young Laird of Newton-Gordon, and the Laird of Harthill, the two last of whom were executed. Huntly himself was seized two months afterwards in Strathdon, and sent captive to Edinburgh, where he was imprisoned in the common jail, or tolbooth.

CHAPTER VIII.

ASCENDENCY OF THE INDEPENDENTS, AND EXECUTION OF THE KING.

To the rock with him ! to the rock with him !

Coriolanus.

It has been represented by the friends of legitimate monarchy, as a strong reason for the repression of all popular combinations against established authority, that the two national parliaments, which had now so effectually overpowered King Charles, and apparently settled the government on a republican model, were just at this very period of their triumph on the point of sinking beneath a tyranny of a different order, which they themselves had called into existence, and which was of an infinitely more frightful and intolerable nature to the nation at large than the rule they had just escaped from. The English parliament, which had contended so stoutly for the abrogation of high-toned Episcopacy, was now to suffer from the opposite extreme of fanatic Independency: after reducing to proper bounds the arbitrary rule of a king, it was to perish by a blow from a mere ambitious soldier. It resembled, according to the views of this class of politicians, the wayward child of the fairy tale, who, to get quit of some petty evil, having called in the assistance of a demon, was grati-

fied no doubt with a complete victory over the trivial annoyance complained of, but found himself at the same time engaged to become the perpetual slave and the eventual prey of the dreadful auxiliary which he had called to his aid.

The English parliament, as already hinted, in its negotiations for the dismissal of the Scottish army, had had a view towards the dismissal of their own forces; for even then it was beginning to find the victors of Naseby somewhat intractable, and to entertain fears lest their sectarian enemies should turn them to account in the struggle which was anticipated. It had no sooner acquired possession of the king's person, than it proceeded to take measures for the dissolution of the troops. By a very inconsiderate, and, to say the least of it, very cruel decree, it commanded part of those men who had achieved all its victories and established its power, to retire to private life, not only without pensions, but even without disbursement of the last twelvemonth's pay; another portion it voted to serve in Ireland against the Papists, which was justly considered the most disagreeable duty that could be assigned to men of their profession. The soldiers were thus furnished with a pretext for rebellion, of which they soon proceeded to take advantage. Under the direction of Cromwell, Ireton, and other Independent leaders, who had previously moulded the whole mass to their will, they erected a sort of counter-parliament among themselves, seized the person of the king, advanced to London, expelled the chief of the Presbyterian members, and at once placed the government in the hands of their own friends. So sudden was this revolution, that it was entirely accomplished before any measures could be taken by the English Presbyterians

for calling in the assistance of their Scottish brethren, and almost before any intelligence of its first movements had yet crossed the Tweed.

King Charles, though to all appearance as passive in the midst of these commotions as the bark which tosses on the bosom of an agitated sea, was in reality the most active *intrigant* of all the politicians concerned. The disputes of the Presbyterians and Independents, which caused his countenance to become a matter of request with both, suggested to him the possibility of accomplishing his own unconditional restoration by a skilful management of their various passions, or by driving them into desperate conflict with each other. Entering into secret negotiations with both, he endeavoured, by a sort of auctioneering dalliance, to ascertain which would admit him to the throne upon the best terms, provided that he should cast into *their* scale the relics of authority or consideration which still remained to him. The Presbyterians, become in their desperation next thing to royalists, for the purpose of opposing the democratic Independents with greater vigour, gave him vague promises of rewarding him for his favour by a restoration of almost every thing but Episcopacy; the Independents, on their part, offered him at least a toleration, if not also a restoration, of that favourite system of worship. Detesting, as he had good reason to do, both parties alike, he acted upon no other principle in these negotiations than that of taking advantage of their disputes to retrieve the rights they had united in ravishing from him. It was only unfortunate for himself that he sided with the sinking party, or rather, I should say, with that which, in those times of violence, had least military power to protect him.

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He sided with the Presbyterians. Encouraged by prospects which the Duke of Hamilton held out, of bringing the whole Scottish nation to his support against the Independents, whose power now alarmed them more than ever that of Charles had done, and perhaps conceiving that a renewal of the war might turn up some juncture favourable for his unlimited restoration, he ratified a secret treaty with the Presbyterians of both kingdoms, whereby he agreed, on condition of their placing him again upon the throne, to sign their Covenant, and establish their form of worship and church-government upon a probationship of three years, as also to concur with them in their favourite object, the extirpation of sectaries or repression of toleration. Had the enterprise of the Presbyterians met with success, it is probable that Britain might have been spared the execution of the king, and the military tyranny of the next twelve years. But, as an eminent writer has remarked, they had to meet with Cromwell; and to meet with Cromwell was inevitable defeat.

The reader, who has seen the Scottish nation three times send an army against King Charles for the protection of their Covenant, is now to be amused with the strange spectacle of a fourth armament, composed of nearly the same persons, and commissioned by nearly the same official individuals, marching into England for the precisely opposite purpose of protecting the sovereign, and to the neglect in a great measure of the sacred bond which had urged the former expeditions.

The association, however, upon which this fourth expedition proceeded, was not nearly so firm, or unanimous, or decisive an affair, as the more religious leagues which had formed the groundwork of

the former three. The Scottish Presbyterians were by no means of one opinion as to the necessity of emancipating the king; still less were they unanimous in thinking the conditional promises which he held out sufficient to justify their going into a war for his restoration. Many of them thought that he should have been compelled to give earnest of his good intentions by signing the Covenant, before they should take any steps in his behalf. Others were jealous of the strong loyalist or malignant complexion which the association bore, and openly expressed their suspicions that an unconditional restoration of the king was the real object of the enterprise, and that the Presbyterians, with their Covenant, would be thrown off, so soon as the desired triumph was obtained over the English sectaries. "That the cursed army of sectaries," says Baillie, expressing the opinion of the most moderate of the dissentients, "should vanish in smoke, and their friends in the houses, city, and country, be brought to their well-deserved ruin; that the king and his family should be at last in some nearness to be restored to their dignity and former condition, I am very glad: but my fear is great that his restitution should come by these hands, (meaning those of the Hamiltons and other loyalists,) and be so ill prepared, that the glorious reformation we have suffered so much for shall be much endangered, and the most that shall be obtained be but a weak Erastian Presbytery, with a toleration of Popery and Episcopacy at court, and of divers sects elsewhere." At the head of this uncompromising party, which comprehended a majority of the clergy, were the Marquis of Argyle, and Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston.

Such, nevertheless, was at this time the popular

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feeling of affection for the king, and so much sympathy was awakened by a proposal for his rescue from the English republicans, that, in the new parliament, which met on the 11th of March, 1648, the royalists were found to have a decided majority. The Duke of Hamilton, who acted as leader, found no difficulty therefore in procuring a vote for a levy of forty thousand men. At the same time, insurrections were organized in many districts of England, to correspond with this grand invasion which was contemplated from Scotland; seventeen sail of the navy revolted to the king, and, sailing over to Holland, put themselves into the hands of the Prince of Wales; small parties of loyalists were already appearing openly in Wales, wearing in their hats blue-and-white ribbons, the royal livery, subscribed with the words, "We long to see our king;" some loyalists of the north of England had already seized the fortresses of Carlisle and Berwick; one party of horse, under a gallant cavalier of the name of Wogan, had come to Edinburgh to put themselves under the command of the Scottish general; and to all appearance there seemed no probability that the English army, which did not muster much above twenty thousand men, would be able to oppose an enemy so numerous, and which appeared at once in so many different and opposite quarters of the empire.

And it really never could have subdued the loyalists and moderate Presbyterians, but for the obstructions which were now thrown in the way of the Scottish levies by the fanatic and unpatriotic party which has just been described. This party, having chosen rather to coalesce with the Independents than with the loyalists, and being secretly encouraged with promises and bribes from that party

in the English parliament, acted with the most decided hostility against the proceedings of the duke. On account of a protest which they entered in parliament against the levy, they became distinguished by the epithet of Protesters; while the opposite party received the title of Engagers, on account of their accession to the association for the king, which was called "Hamilton's Engagement." The church emitted a violent declaration against the Engagement, which they ordered to be read in all the pulpits of the kingdom. Individually, they preached against it with the most enthusiastic fervour, "comparing it," says Salmonet, "to certain of the mysteries of St John's Revelation, and threatening all those who joined in it with the menaces which the prophets of old denounced against Gog and Magog." Argyle himself undertook a tour through Fife and the south-western counties, where it was least popular, for the purpose of organizing a regular military opposition, which was to be supported by a detachment of the English army under Lambert; and he had all his own clansmen prepared to join in that enterprise. Precisely in proportion to the warmth of the feeling which now prevailed in favour of King Charles, and which evidently caused the Engagement, was the feeling of alarm about the Covenant, which excited this opposition; and thus the nation came to be as thoroughly divided into Engagers and Protesters, as it had ever been into Covenanters and Malignants.

The gentle temporizing disposition of the Duke of Hamilton was not well suited to act against the violence of the Protesters. Instead of taking vigorous measures for suppressing them, which his majority in the supreme court of parliament could have easily enabled him to do, he spent much pains and

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much time in vain attempts to draw them into his measures. There even arose a suspicion among the ultra loyalists that he had a secret understanding with the Argyle party; and it is affirmed by Guthry that, to efface an impression so unfavourable to his views, he was obliged to get up a sort of mock duel between the Earl of Lindsay, one of his friends, and the Marquis of Argyle. The marquis, pretending to take offence at some equivocal expression which Lindsay used regarding him in parliament, sent him a challenge, and desired him to appoint a time and place of meeting. Lindsay returned an answer on Sunday evening, informing Argyle that he should meet him next morning at five o'clock on Musselburgh Links. They met there at the time appointed; when, if we are to believe a cavalier historian,¹ "the reddeners" whom they had appointed to come up and interfere, failing to appear at the proper time, they were obliged to dally an hour upon the ground, without proceeding to business. Lindsay was perhaps willing and anxious to fight; but, according to Sir James Balfour, another Tory writer, "all that was of them could not make Argyle fight, till he saw Colonel Haddan, the Chancellor's man, coming to part them: then he was something stout, and refused to subscribe a paper which he would have formerly done, I believe against his will, but which he had been forced either to do, or else to cast off his doublet, and boots, which he was wondrous loath to do in respect of the coldness of the weather."² To complete the farce, the Marquis of Argyle was obliged by the commission of the kirk to perform public repentance before them, "because he had had such an hostile mind," and Lindsay was desired to submit to the same degrading ceremony, but refused.

The combat, such as it was, and its attendant circumstances, caused great scandal to Argyle's own party, but only furnished matter of sport to the more knowing cavaliers.³

The only reason, however, which the ultra loyalists seem to have had for believing the Duke of Hamilton unfaithful to his prince, was no other than that he acted, throughout all these troubles, and as much on the present occasion as on any other, rather with the generosity and moderation of an extremely good heart and temperate mind, than with the selfish views which influenced, in a greater or lesser degree, all his brother politicians. He was almost the only man of his time, who could distinguish the real interests of his country from the enthusiasm of religion, or who could entertain an affection for the person of his sovereign without the desire of seeing him rendered a despot. There was perhaps no man whose fate it was to perish in the tumults of this most unhappy time, not even the king himself, more worthy of sympathy than Hamilton. After Charles surrendered to the Scottish army at Newcastle, this amiable nobleman, seeing no possibility of serving both his king and his country, as he wished both to be served, solicited permission from his majesty to retire altogether from the scene, and go abroad. But Charles could not consent to part with one whose friendship he estimated so much; and Hamilton remained to be indeed what he declared himself, "the most unhappy man in his majesty's dominions." He had since then acted in the king's behalf with a great degree of zeal, insomuch that he accepted the Covenant in order to fit himself for the transaction of negotiations with his countrymen; but his zeal was always tempered by a sort of melancholy, as if the

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doom which was destined to overtake him, had already thrown its anticipatory shadow over his mind. Even now, when confessedly the leading man in his native country, and looked up to throughout all England as the person who was to have the glory of leading his sovereign back from the prison to the palace, he could not act up to the situation or character which he held; but, like the criminal who professes to die at peace with all the world, or the martyr who smiles at the revilings of the rabble, seemed inclined to pardon every insult and every opposition, as if sensible that the punishment of the offenders would only give him additional cause of regret in his last hour.

Yet he did not carry this forgiving sentiment so far as to forbear suppressing a dangerous insurrection which the wild party raised against his levies in the west. At Mauchlin, in Ayrshire, on the 10th of June, under the pretext of attending a communion, a vast number of recusant recruits and other country people assembled in arms; being, it is supposed, excited by the Marquis of Argyle, and encouraged with the prospect of an auxiliary force from the English army. The duke committed the charge of suppressing these misguided persons to General Middleton, who accordingly marched towards them, at the head of three hundred horse; a larger body of both horse and foot being left behind at Stewarton as a reserve. When Middleton came up, he found the insurgents drawn out on Mauchlin Moor, to the amount of eight hundred foot and twelve hundred horse.⁴ They were attended by eight ministers, and were just in the act of choosing officers. To give an idea of the spirit which animated them, it need only be mentioned that six hundred had come from the little district

of Strathaven and Lesmahago, and were of course vassals of the Duke of Hamilton, but had yet thought proper to disobey their territorial superior, for the purpose of doing what they considered their duty to God.

The approach of Middleton was unexpected, and they were a good deal appalled at the sight of his troops. The ministers therefore came out to solicit terms of capitulation. Middleton promised safety to all, except the revolted recruits, (about two hundred,) provided that the rest would disperse. But, when these terms were declared to the multitude, only the men of Kyle and Cunningham would consent to receive them. Those of Lanarkshire, including the vassals of Hamilton, expressed a resolution to stand out. Middleton, seeing that only a portion had acceded to his terms by going home, charged the rest, sword in hand, and soon succeeded in dispersing them. His men were commanded to spare lives, but compensated the restriction, according to the account of Baillie, by seizing "horse, arms, and purses." Unfortunately, a great portion of the fugitives having mistaken their way towards a bridge, and being obliged to stand at bay with their backs to the river, an active conflict took place, by which forty of the insurgents were killed, besides a considerable number of the troopers. Middleton himself, though reputed an excellent soldier, was here somewhat hard pressed by a brawny and zealous blacksmith, who entered into a personal combat with him, and soon contrived to give him a few wounds. He afterwards confessed, that, if he had not had the good fortune to stab his antagonist, at a moment when he was off his guard in the act of fetching too heavy a blow at him, he would have certainly been slain.

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Opposed as the Engagement was by a strong protesting body, and by a majority of the clergy, declaimed against on one hand as a union with the enemies of the state, and on the other as a dereliction of the Covenant, and a snare for leading souls to damnation, there can be little wonder that its levies were much and fatally retarded. The month of July had arrived ere yet the Duke had collected fifteen thousand men out of the forty thousand voted in parliament. By that time, moreover, most of the co-operative insurrections of the English loyalists had been repressed. The prospects of the sectaries, which had looked so gloomy in spring, were again brightened; and, in short, the opportune moment for striking a blow in favour of distressed royalty was fairly past.

With these inadequate forces, of whom not the fifth man could handle pike or musket,⁵ the duke was at length obliged, on the 12th of July, to begin his march. He was himself general, though, it is said, much against his inclination; the Earl of Callander, a Scottish soldier of fortune, was lieutenant-general; Middleton had the command of the horse. He entered England by the West Border; "marching himself in the van of the army, with his trumpeters before him, all in scarlet cloaks full of silver lace, and a life-guard of Scottish gentlemen, all very proper and well clothed, attending him with standards and equipage, exactly like those of a prince."⁶ At his entrance into England, he was joined by three or four thousand loyalists under Sir Marmaduke Langdale; but as there was an act of parliament forbidding any person to be received into the Scottish army who had not taken the Covenant, these forces were obliged to march quite distinct, and to rest in a separate camp. On

approaching Carlisle, the keys were brought out, and delivered to the duke. Soon after, at Kendal, in Westmoreland, he was reinforced by two thousand foot and one thousand horse, which Sir George Munro had brought over from the Scottish army in Ireland, but whom he thought proper to leave at that place, for the purpose of bringing up the additional levies which he expected immediately to receive from his brother Lanark in Scotland.

The distracted and equivocal principles upon which the whole Engagement was founded, proved of most fatal effect in the conduct of its army. So many religious parties as contributed to it, so many different modes of action required to be adopted. Of course, as it was impossible to submit its component parts to any general recognised system of command, so was it impossible to concentrate its energies upon any given point. Every different commander, as he represented a different political or religious party, assumed what he conceived an appropriate independence, and acted upon his own responsibility. The different limbs of the army moved at preposterously wide intervals. Langdale, with his Catholic and Episcopalian horse, went at least twenty miles, and sometimes even thirty and upwards, a-head of the Scottish loyalists and Presbyterians. Behind them both lay Munro's Irish veterans, and from them again there extended a train of Scottish recruits all the way towards Edinburgh. Langdale's horse, scattered over the country in quest of forage, were intrusted with the duty of procuring intelligence of the enemy; but so imperfect an understanding subsisted between them and the Duke of Hamilton, that he was generally ignorant of transactions of great importance

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that were taking place in his immediate neighbourhood. It really would have required but a small stretch of faith to see the probability of the prophecies of ruin, shame, captivity, and death, which the clergy at home were now busy in denouncing against the troops of the Engagement.

The duke was dissuaded from marching through Yorkshire, which was a friendly county, and prevailed upon to adopt the road by Lancashire, which was the reverse, on the approved military principle of the time, that it was better to quarter upon a foe than a friend. This course, however, only brought him the sooner in contact with Cromwell, who, though he had not above eight thousand men, was now advancing upon him from Wales, where he had been busied in suppressing an insurrection.

At Preston, in Lancashire, on the 17th of August, the two armies first came into action. Langdale, with his three thousand foot and about six hundred horse, having fallen a little in the rear of the Scottish army, was attacked that morning in the enclosures near Preston, by an army which he supposed at first to be only a tumultuary force raised by the country people, but which he soon learned from the prisoners he took to be the iron and invincible squadrons of Cromwell. He maintained his ground for a long time, with great resolution, against the superior numbers of the enemy, expecting to be relieved by a reinforcement from the Duke of Hamilton, which he had sent for. But, the duke having marched on, under the impression that he was in no difficulty, till it was too late to dispatch the necessary assistance, and Langdale's ammunition becoming exhausted, he was at last obliged to fall forward upon the Scot-

ish host in full and disorderly retreat. When his grace was thus apprised of the real state of the case, he endeavoured, with the few who happened to be around his person, to beat back the pursuers, and protect the rear of his own forces; and he was successful in doing so three several times; but he was at last obliged to retire in some disorder, leaving the reputation of a victory to Cromwell, who had gained the farther advantage of separating him from Scotland, and from some valuable portions of his far-extending army.

In a night retreat which his grace now performed, he found, on arriving at Wigan next morning, that he had lost half of his men by desertion, and the whole of his ammunition, except what the soldiers carried in their flasks. A sort of despair then took possession of the army, arising partly from their misfortune of the preceding day, partly from the distracted councils of their officers, and perhaps most of all from the weather, which was such as to have rendered every brook a sea, and laid the roads knee-deep in mud. Another day of retreat, during which they were closely pursued by the enemy, brought them to Warrington Bridge, where the foot, being found totally unable to proceed farther, and at the same time unable to fight, from their powder being wet, were left, to the number of ten thousand, under Baillie, to capitulate; while Hamilton and the remaining horse pursued their desperate march towards Stone, and finally to Uttoxeter. The foot were admitted to quarter by their pursuers, but were afterwards, it is said, sold as slaves to the Plantations at two shillings a-head.⁷

Cromwell left the army at this point, and went north to attack Munro; the duty of pursuing Ha-

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Hamilton was committed to Lambert. The chief of the Engagement had still three thousand horse in his train, and entertained hopes of getting into Wales, where he did not doubt to be able to form an advantageous coalition with some of the Cambrian loyalists. But the rear of his host being overtaken by the pursuers, and an engagement, having taken place, in which his troops were unsuccessful, and Middleton was taken prisoner; he was shut up in the little town of Uttoxeter, and reduced to the alternative of either fighting his way out, or remaining to capitulate. The timidity of his character induced him to prefer the latter course; both Langdale and Callander having in the meantime deserted him, as certain of being able to obtain no terms for themselves. He surrendered himself and all who remained with him as "prisoners of war." "Such," says Laing, "was the event of the first expedition from Scotland, undertaken for the purpose of restoring the line of its ancient monarchs, the ill-fated Stuarts, to the throne of England."

But, even after the defeat of Hamilton, some hopes were still entertained by his party in Scotland, and especially by his brother Lanark, to retrieve matters by a second levy and the assistance of Sir George Munro. For this purpose Lanark took advantage of a trivial insurrection in Ayrshire to procure a vote from the Committee of Estates for raising the fencible men of the country; and, when it was debated whether he or the Earl Marischal should be put at their head, such was his eagerness to obtain the command, that he condescended to the indecent and extraordinary expedient of voting for himself. When a considerable band had been raised, instead of marching

to subdue the west country insurgents, he advanced towards Berwick to meet Sir George Munro, who had now got thither in retreat from Cromwell. This motion on his part had the unexpected and fatal effect of encouraging the southwestern provincials to rise *en masse*, and advance to Edinburgh, where it was found they amounted to six thousand.

Before Lanark could return with Monro, the fanatic party had risen and put themselves at the head of this tumultuary force, which they rendered much more respectable than it otherwise could have been by procuring Leslie to command it, and which was in daily expectation of reinforcements, from Argyle in the Highlands, and the Earl of Cassillis in Galloway. Munro, with the unhesitating decision of a professed soldier, counselled Lanark and the members of the loyal committee who accompanied him, to attack the *Whigamores*, as they were called, in the capital, ere they should gain farther strength; but, out of a tenderness to save the effusion of blood, Lanark resolved rather to march to Stirling, and there attempt to draw a loyal army from the Highlands.

Accordingly, avoiding Edinburgh, the loyalists, on the 11th of September, arrived at Linlithgow, where a large party of westland recruits, on their way to the capital, being surprised by the sudden advance of an enemy, "left their suppers at the fire," as an old historian expresses it, "to be devoured by the new comers." Next day the Marquis of Argyle, totally ignorant of the near approach of the loyalists, took possession of Stirling, and its bridge, with about six hundred foot and one hundred horse, intending immediately to proceed eastward to join his fellow-patriots at Edinburgh.

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To his infinite surprise, intelligence was soon after brought to him, as he was quietly sitting down to dinner in the house of the Earl of Mar, that an overpowering force was at the very gates, and was already beginning to cut off parties which he had planted to guard the outskirts of the town. Immediately throwing himself upon his horse, the unfortunate marquis, to whom fortune seemed determined for ever to deny a fair opportunity of showing his manhood, rushed out of the town, crossed over the bridge, and, making for the country beyond, left his men to guard the pass behind him, apparently uncaring for their lives, provided only that one which was so valuable to the state as his own should be saved. His clansmen, with a generous devotion to his service of which he was altogether unworthy, maintained their post for a considerable time against the troops of Munro; but were at length driven away, and either killed or drowned in the river. His lordship gained the North Queensferry in safety, and from thence proceeded to Edinburgh without attendance.

Lanark immediately set up his Committee of Estates at Stirling, and took measures for the increase of his army. But the Whigamores speedily disturbed him by advancing, with Leslie at their head, to Falkirk. Munro, with whom alone lay the merit of having surprised Argyle, proposed instantly to attack that great crude body, which he entertained no doubt of cutting to pieces. But Lanark, probably remembering the evil reputation which Montrose had got by his victories, could not be brought to consent to so decisive a measure. Seeing at the same time the impossibility of maintaining a party otherwise, he resolved to enter into terms with the enemy for the dissolu-

tion of his army. Much against Munro's will, he ratified a treaty with them in the course of a few days, whereby it was agreed that both armies should be disbanded before the 29th of October, and that all civil and ecclesiastical matters pending betwixt them should be referred to the next meeting of the Parliament and General Assembly.⁸ The whole fabric of anomalous loyalty which the Hamiltons, as a last effort for the king, had reared among the Scottish Covenanters, was thus finally dissolved, and the power of government once more reverted to the uncompromising Presbyterians who had formerly enjoyed it.

Argyle, as a matter of course, planted himself in the seat of government at Edinburgh, setting up a Committee of Parliament, composed of his own friends, as the ostensible organ. Oliver Cromwell soon after paid him a visit at Edinburgh, assisted him in the settlement of the kingdom, and, it is further affirmed by the Cavalier historians, procured his consent to the great measure which the Independent party had now resolved on—the execution of the king.

For the conciliation of the Covenanters during the ascendancy of the Engagement, the Independents had re-admitted various of the expelled members to the House of Commons, and had given themselves altogether a considerable tinge of Presbyterianism. Having now, however, completely triumphed over that dangerous enemy, they all at once resumed their sectarian and republican complexion. In order to reduce the parliament to their will, they sent a colonel of the name of Pride to exclude from it by military violence all such members as, from any cause, were favourable

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to the king. When a hundred and forty members had been thus expelled, they erected, by vote of the pretended parliament which remained, a "High Court of Justice," as they gravely termed it, for the trial of the king. His majesty, who had previously been secured in Hurst Castle in Hampshire, was brought before this tribunal, (January 19, 1649,) and, after a mock trial, which lasted several days, condemned to lose his head on the scaffold. On the 30th of January this sentence was executed.

The death of Charles was followed soon after by that of the Duke of Hamilton and of some other persons, who, like his grace, had exposed themselves to the vengeance of the dominant party. Soon after his surrender at Uxtoxeter, the duke had been put into strict confinement at Windsor, deprived, like his royal master, of all the external marks of respect due to his rank. One evening, as he presumed to walk beyond the limits which were allowed him, a sergeant came up, and insolently commanded him into his cell; on which occasion the duke could not help remarking, with bitter feeling, that one who had a month before commanded a large army, was now at the mercy of a single mean soldier. Nine days before the royal execution, his grace procured permission to approach his majesty as he was conveyed through one of the courts of Windsor Castle to his trial. He threw himself at Charles's feet, his eyes were suffused with tears, and he could only exclaim, in an agony of mingled grief and affection, "My dear master!" Charles, overpowered at the sight of a man who had done and suffered so much for him, wept also, but had only time to answer, with

bitter sorrow, "I have indeed been a dear master to you," when his guards hurried him away. They never saw each other again. The Duke of Hamilton, in direct violation of his treaty of surrender, was executed on the 9th of March.

CHAPTER IX.

CHARACTER OF ARGYLE'S GOVERNMENT.

————— In one consort there sate,
Cruel Revenge and rancorous Despite,
Disloyal Treason and heart-burning Hate.

SPENSER.

THE Scottish nation in general received intelligence of the death of the king with much surprise, and with sincere regret. In all their exertions for the establishment and propagation of their religion, incompatible as they might have seen that religion to be with the existence of the king, they had never entertained any idea of violating his person ; on the contrary, they had sacramented themselves, by both their Covenants, to honour and preserve it with all their hearts and strength. Neither the republicanism of their creed, nor the wars they had carried on against the king, had ever made them in the least degree anti-monarchical. They cherished for their sovereign a feeling of abstract loyalty even more devout than common, founded perhaps partly on the recollection that he was their native prince, and partly on an idea then popularly enter-

tained, that his family had governed the kingdom for two thousand years. Sharing as they did in the favourite theory of the times, that to destroy the king was to insult the deity who had anointed him, and detesting the impious party who had done the deed, they could not help contemplating it with great horror; a feeling which was additionally embittered by the reflection that they had been instrumental in his fate, in so far as they had, to use the expression of Salmasius,¹ bound him for the slaughter which the Independents administered.

The Marquis of Argyle, whose name may now be given as representing the government of the country, and who had formed a scheme for continuing to govern it, in which kings had no part, was not well pleased to observe this show of feeling among the people; but he was nevertheless obliged to humour it, in the first place by protesting against the execution of Charles, and then by causing his son to be proclaimed his successor. While the king's trial was yet pending, he had sent three commissioners to London, to represent to the English parliament the interest which the Scottish Estates possessed, in common with themselves, in the person of the king, and to utter a protest, in the name of the body which they represented, against the extinction with which the English parliament threatened at once the king's life and the government of his family. These commissioners performed their duty; but the Independents only replied by inviting the Scots to join with themselves in erecting Great Britain and Ireland into a federal republic. It was in vain that the Scots complained of the violence which the king's judges were offering to the Covenant; that reverend do-

cument had recently been likened by an Independent, in open parliament, to an out-dated almanack. When the commissioners saw their remonstrances treated with neglect, they prepared to execute the remainder of their instructions, which directed them to sail directly from London to Holland, and there enter into terms with Prince Charles for his restoration, or at least for his admission to the government of Scotland. But they were seized as they were attempting to set sail, by a troop of Cromwell's horse, conducted to the Borders, and there ignominiously dismissed.²

The Scottish Covenanters thus found—after all their endeavours to procure the establishment of Presbytery in England, after, for that purpose, they had spent much blood, and treasure, and honour, contributed to the murder of their king, and revolutionized their own government—that they were much farther from their object than they had been at the commencement of the undertaking; a power being now dominant in England, which, though willing to tolerate them, was far more adverse to their views than ever the king had been. Every thing considered, it was natural, under the circumstances, that they should look to the young exiled king as more likely to promote their ends than the Independents, and that they should, therefore, have entered into a negotiation with him, with the view of restoring at once him and themselves.

Had this been done in a generous spirit, had the Scottish nation endeavoured with heart and hand to rescue the reins of government from the bloody faction which had so unjustifiably assumed them, and put them once more into the hands of the legitimate monarch, the eye of history might have brightened at recording conduct so courageous,

and so patriotic. Unfortunately, however willing the nation at large was to attempt such an enterprise, it was prevented from putting its good wishes into execution, by the monstrous tyranny which, under the mask of religion, was now oppressing it.

So entirely had religion now possessed the nation, that no public measure was honoured with the least share of attention or respect, unless it had something sacred for its object; while it was possible, by pretending to have that object in view, to practise the grossest and most palpable deceptions upon the people. The reader has already seen something of the progress of this national disease. He has seen, in the period which preceded these civil wars, a strong prejudice in favour of the Presbyterian church, accompanied by much zealous piety. Next, he has seen that prejudice and that piety exaggerated to an immense degree by the attempt which Charles made to convert the national church to Episcopacy. Then he has seen them, influenced by a triumph in the struggle with their sovereign, enter into a sort of crusade for the purpose of extending their favourite religion to a neighbouring people. He is now to observe the national mind, thus held engaged upon one exclusive topic for so many years, excited at last to such a degree regarding it, as, like certain men of science too long devoted to one object of research, to become perfectly insane.

Never was any country reduced by conquest or despotism, by plague or famine, to a condition more truly deplorable than Scotland was by its religious enthusiasm. It might be said, that, for the sake of acquiring what they esteemed a prospect of bliss in the world beyond the grave, the

people had absolutely renounced every means of rational enjoyment in the present state of existence. By their struggles for religious freedom, they had reduced themselves to a condition of civil thralldom ; by their efforts to purify their faith, they had become worse than the most superstitious ascetics. Half of their lives were spent in severe religious exercises ; their minds were tortured with horrid anticipations and misgivings regarding futurity ; their worldly property was impaired by inordinate taxes ; their persons were liable to the most unrelenting conscriptions. By the ecclesiastical tyranny to which they had subjected themselves, every natural emotion of their hearts, however innocent or agreeable, was repressed as deadly sin. Even those simple household pleasures, those happy little passages of family affection, which constitute so large a portion of the real joy of life, were proscribed by this cruel system ; and domestic existence was now a howling wilderness—a world without a flower.³

The simple naked cause of all this was, that the people, for want of commerce and other salutary objects of enthusiasm, had devoted their attention too exclusively to religion, and removed it from that proper and becoming place which it ought ever to hold in the mind, to one where it was the sole and engrossing object of their thoughts. There was still a rational class in the country, but it was for the present too small to check or keep in balance this monstrous faction of maniacs. The great mass of both the common people and of the middle ranks, were possessed with the enthusiasm ; consequently, in a period of anarchy such as this, their representatives, the clergy and the commissioners of parliament, became possessed of the whole power of

the state. In other words, government became a committee of persons appointed by the people to attend to the interests of religion. This committee may be said to have been composed partly of clerical, and partly of secular persons, namely, of the General Assembly⁴ and the parliament, or of their respective committees. When the circle was a little narrowed, it was found that about half-a-dozen clergymen, and as many members of parliament, or state-officers, possessing a sway over the rest, founded either in talent or superior pretensions to sanctity, exercised all the functions of government. When the circle was still farther narrowed, the Marquis of Argyle, the minion of the church, and at the same time its lord-primate, was found in the centre, like the horrid divinity of some pagan labyrinth, apparently inert and insensate, yet dictating the destinies of thousands by its slightest movements.⁵

The reader has already seen how this nobleman re-established himself in his government, after the temporary ascendancy of the Engagers or moderate loyalists. It will now be necessary to advert to the methods which he took for fixing himself in his place of authority. The first of his proceedings was one which had for its object that important matter, the proscription of his enemies. By an act which he caused to be passed through parliament, the whole of the Engagers, from the noblemen who had acted as chief councillors and generals, down to the individuals who had merely promoted the levies, were declared infamous, and incapable of ever after serving the state.⁶ Another of his "doings," as Father Hay terms them, was one which tended to ingratiate him more than ever with the clergy: he abolished patronage, and rai-

sed their stipends. By a third measure, he rid himself of a rival, the last and most dangerous that now remained to disturb the enjoyment of his ill-gotten power. This was the Marquis of Huntly, who, on the 22d of March, was beheaded at the Cross of Edinburgh.

On the very day of Huntly's execution, the Scottish parliament, or rather the Marquis of Argyle, dispatched a body of commissioners from the Frith of Forth to Holland, there to lay before Charles the Second the terms upon which he might be admitted to the sovereignty of his northern kingdom. Argyle, who was forced to this measure, as to the proclamation of the king, purely by the popular feeling of loyalty, had purposely made these terms very hard, that the young monarch might reject them; at the same time, they appeared so essential to the existence of religion, that the people could not complain of them as being unreasonable. They required Charles, in the first place, to sign both Covenants, and thereby to establish the Presbyterian religion in Scotland, and endeavour to extend it to England. In the second place, they required him to discard all his friends from around his person, and deliver himself entirely up to the possession of the present members of government, who were avowedly his greatest enemies. In the third place, they required him to submit himself, for the future, in all things civil, to the direction of Parliament, in all things ecclesiastical, to that of the General Assembly. The prospect which they altogether held out to him was one of the most miserable description; a king to appearance, but in reality a puppet and a slave. The benefits which they promised to him, might have been of some account with a person who had

no pretensions to the kingly office, or who would have been content, in the language of children, to eat good meat and wear a crown. But to a person with the rights of this young prince, and who had yet friends that promised to restore him on better terms, they appeared revolting and contemptible in the extreme.

One party in Charles's little exiled court viewed the terms as he himself did, including his English counsellors, the Marquis of Montrose, and other loyalists of the more sanguine complexion. But there was another party which strongly advised him to close with them, as at least offering him an opportunity of taking one step towards his restoration. This party comprehended, besides the Duke of Buckingham, the proscribed lords of the Engagement, Lauderdale, Callander, and Lanark, (the last by the death of his brother, now Duke of Hamilton,) all of whom, although themselves precluded for ever from office by the very terms of the treaty, recommended his majesty's return, either upon the disinterested and patriotic principle, that they conceived it would be conducive both to his own good and that of the country, or because they were anxious by that means to get back to their estates. In opposition to such moderate counsels, Montrose offered to invade Scotland with what forces could be gathered on the Continent, to raise all the royalists in the country, and, dashing forward upon the rebel government, endeavour, by one decisive action, to re-establish King Charles in all his native authority, and deliver his enemies bound into his hands.

Charles adopted a line of conduct very natural under his circumstances; he resolved to make a secret trial of what Montrose and the other

thorough-paced loyalists could do for him, and, only as a *dernier resort*, to accept the terms of the Scottish Presbyterians. Such conduct brought him into the risk of offending the Presbyterians, against whom the loyalists were of course to bend their whole force; but the prospect held out to him of procuring an unconditional restoration was so much more tempting than the offers of the Covenanters, and there was in reality so strong a chance of its being realized, that he scarcely hesitated to decide. He, indeed, seems to have rather considered his treaty with the Covenanters as an interruption of Montrose's scheme of conquest, which had been previously projected, than Montrose's scheme an interlude in the treaty.⁷

CHAPTER X.

MONTROSE'S SECOND CAMPAIGN.

As Alexander I will reign,
And I will reign alone;
My thoughts did evermore disdain
A rival on my throne.
He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
Who dares not put it to the touch,
To gain or lose it all.

MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

AFTER departing from the kingdom, (September 1646,) in obedience to the commands of Charles the First, Montrose proceeded with his retinue to Paris, where he endeavoured to procure the countenance of Queen Henrietta Maria, and to instigate various expeditions to Britain in favour of his distressed sovereign. He there became acquainted with the celebrated Cardinal de Retz; and that penetrating judge describes him in his *Memoirs*, as one of those heroes, of whom there are no longer any remains in the world, and who are only to be met with in Plutarch.¹ Unfortunately for his hopes, although his late achievements in Scotland (embodied in an elegant Latin narrative by his chaplain Wishart) procured for his name the notice and respect of all Europe,² it was not judged expedient by either Charles or his consort to employ him again in the assertion of the royal cause, on account of the invincible antipathy

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in which he was held by all classes of his countrymen, except the ultra cavaliers. When he at length found that his services could not be accepted by his native monarch, he travelled to Germany, and offered them to the emperor, who immediately honoured him with the rank of mareschal, and commissioned him to raise a regiment, the command of which he stipulated that he should be permitted to resign, in the event of his being called once more to Britain.

He was busied in the levy of his regiment in the Low Countries, when he first learned the news of the king's death. On this intelligence being communicated to him, he was struck with such violent grief, that, if we are to believe his biographer, Wishart, who was present on the occasion, he fainted on the spot. On recovering, he vowed to devote himself exclusively to revenge the murder of his beloved master; and, to give solemnity to his vow, and at the same time expression to his grief, he retired to a private chamber, where he spent two days, without permitting a living being to see or speak to him. He farther manifested the steadfastness of his resolution, by composing the following stanza, which, characterised as it is by the conceits peculiar to his age, may nevertheless be allowed to express, in wonderfully few words, a great deal of emphatic sentiment:—

Great, good, and just ! could I but rate
My griefs to thy too rigid fate,
I'd weep the world to such a strain
As it should deluge once again :
But, since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies
More from Briareus' hands than Argus' eyes,
I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thy epitaph with blood and wounds.³

With his mind in this strain, it may be conceived

with what delight he received, soon after, a message from the young king, requesting his attendance at the Hague, for the purpose of projecting a descent upon Scotland. Immediately abandoning his engagement with the emperor, he speeded thither, and was received with open arms by the king. An expedition being then projected, and he having been invested by his majesty with the rank of Lieutenant-governor of Scotland, and commander-in-chief of all the royal forces there, he lost no time in setting about his preparations. He undertook a tour through some of the northern states of Europe, under the character of ambassador from the King of Great Britain; and so warmly did he advocate the cause of distressed royalty to the sovereigns of those countries, that he received a considerable sum of money from the King of Denmark, fifteen hundred stand of arms from the Queen of Sweden, five large vessels from the Duke of Holstein, and about seven or eight hundred men from the states of Holstein and Hamburg. Having selected the remote islands of Orkney as the safest point of rendezvous and attack, he dispatched a portion of his forces thither so early as September 1649.

The enterprise upon which he thus keenly entered was both an arduous and a dangerous one; the country being now so thoroughly subdued by the Argyle faction, and he himself being so certain of personal destruction in case of a miscarriage. Yet there were many circumstances to countenance it. The ultra cavaliers, upon whom he depended for the means of making up an army, were now perhaps more numerous, and more anxious for action, than they had ever been before; the very strength of the Presbyterian go-

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vernment, by its oppressions and proscriptions, having inflamed them with the spirit of rebellion ; and it being now a general sentiment amongst them, that the force of arms, and the unconditional restoration of the king, (which was Montrose's object,) could alone replace them in the privileges and possessions from which they had been expelled by that upstart faction. Of the prevalence of this spirit Montrose had many assurances in the private correspondence which he kept up with the cavalier nobles and gentry ; but the matter was put beyond a question in the spring of 1649, by the actual occurrence of an insurrection in the north of Scotland. Under the Honourable Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscardine, brother of the Earl of Seaforth, a large body of the northern clans and Moray Lowlanders seized upon the garrison of Inverness, advanced beyond the Spey, and threatened to fall down into the Lowlands. They were only suppressed by a vigorous and spirited charge which was made upon them by some troops of Covenanting horse, at a moment of fancied security.

It was another encouraging circumstance, that, in Ireland, on account of the successes of the Marquis of Ormond, in behalf of the royal cause, there seemed some probability of a body of auxiliaries being sent over from that country to Scotland, for co-operation with Montrose. The English loyalists, moreover, were generally disposed to contribute their countenance and assistance, from a disgust at the treaty which Charles was forming with the hated Presbyterians, and from a conviction, that only such uncompromising and bold measures as this daring adventurer was likely to take, could now do any good.

If any farther encouragement had been wanting to induce the Great Marquis to undertake this desperate enterprise, it would have been supplied by superstition and by enthusiasm. With a weakness common to all his contemporaries, cavalier and roundhead, he was possessed by a belief in some idle nursery prophecy, which foretold that he should retrieve the fortunes of his king, and become in consequence the greatest subject in the empire. On the other hand, his enthusiastic love of glory, which rendered him ever intolerant of all cold and hesitating measures, caused him even to prefer an expedition of this sort, which, though dangerous, was one entirely of his own suggestion, and completely under his own management, which promised him triumph over his personal enemies and rivals, and which gave him the prospect of great personal aggrandisement, and of establishing his name for ever on the glittering rolls of fame. In all probability, he never permitted himself to balance the hazard of the enterprise against its chance of success, but, gratified to his heart's desire with the prospect of once more resuming that path of glory which he had been so reluctantly compelled to quit, wilfully blinded himself to all adverse considerations. The mood of mind in which he undertook the expedition, was in some measure indicated by the motto which he caused to be inscribed upon his own banner—"Nil medium."⁴

The very doubts which men expressed regarding the success of his enterprise, perhaps only served to confirm a man of Montrose's temperament in his resolution to undertake it. To explain this, it must be mentioned that the scheme was entirely of his own creation: it was a thing peculiarly *his own*,

which sprung from the ardour of his own mind, and which promised to himself exclusively the whole glory which might result from it. It was undertaken, not only in direct hostility to the Argyle party, which was honoured with his intensest hate, but against the wishes of the moderate cavalier or Hamilton party, the leaders of which (Hamilton, Lauderdale, and Callander) cherished a violent antipathy to him, had insulted him by their neglect even in the king's court, and endeavoured with all their eloquence to dissuade Charles from sanctioning his project. To a man like Montrose, conscious as he must have been of abilities which none of his contemporaries could appreciate, and who therefore acted at all times as a sort of Ishmael, there must have been great incitement in the prospect of at length, by one prodigious stroke of glory, convincing the sneerers, the cavillers, and the detractors—and that to their own dear cost—that he was, in reality, what he had all along endeavoured in vain to prove himself, a being of a superior order.

The very first movement he made towards his grand object, was attended by a misfortune of such evil omen, as, in the opinion of some of his followers, ought to have caused him to desist altogether. He had made an arrangement with the Earl of Morton, by which, in consideration that the king should bestow upon his lordship a gift of the bishop's lands in Orkney, the forces calculated for the invasion of Scotland were to be allowed to rendezvous and recruit in that remote archipelago. Of twelve hundred soldiers, whom he accordingly shipped off from Gottenburgh, in September 1649, under the command of the Earl of Kinnoul, no fewer than a thousand perished by shipwreck on the passage. The remaining two hundred, among

whom were fortunately included the commander and eighty officers, arrived at Kirkwall in Orkney, about the end of September, bringing with them twelve pieces of brass ordnance. They were immediately joined by the Earl of Morton, and almost all the gentry of the country, who, by the way, were extremely well affected to the royal cause; and they were enabled to seize the important castle of Birsay, which held out against them. But another misfortune immediately befell the party. The Earl of Morton, conceiving himself entitled, as local superior, to command the native troops, proceeded to act in that capacity; but, being resisted in his attempt by his nephew, the Earl of Kinnoul, who held a commission from Montrose to that effect, he was so chagrined at his disappointment, or else took the disobedience of his kinsman so much to heart, that he soon after sickened and died. Kinnoul himself happened to die immediately after. When Montrose, therefore, arrived with the remainder of his forces, in March 1650, he found that less progress had been made than he expected in the business of raising and disciplining the islanders, upon whom he calculated for so much support.

In the meantime Scotland was resounding from end to end with the denunciations of church and state against "the wicked and excommunicate traitor, James Graham;" (for by such an epithet had they entitled the marquis ever since his forfeiture and excommunication in 1644;) and every means was taken by the dominant party to inspire the people with horror for his person and hostility to his cause. A "Declaration," which he had caused to be circulated in the country for the explanation of his intentions, was, by order of the

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Committee of Estates, burnt at the Cross of Edinburgh, by the hands of the common hangman: They also thought proper to answer it with a counter-declaration, in which they vindicated their whole proceedings, from the commencement of the national troubles up to the present time, and discharged all, under the pain of high treason, from assisting or countenancing "that viperous brood of Satan," that "insolent braggart," that "perjured and malicious man," "whom the Estates of Parliament long since declared traitor, the church delivered into the hands of the devil, and whom the nation did generally detest and abhor."⁵ A thousand pulpits were at the same time at work throughout the country, in the pious duty of slandering this vile outcast; and the most rigid measures were everywhere taken for preventing any individual, even in the circle of private life, from speaking a word in praise or in vindication of him. In the words of Nichol, a faithful diarist of the period, "none durst speak in favour of that nobleman for fear of censure or punishment. That the truth of this may be cleared," he adds, "I thought fit to insert a passage, which was this: There was an honest man in Glasgow callit Johnne Bryson, who, being at the Mercat-croce of that city, and hearing a proclamation there and a declaration against that noble earle, the Marquis of Montrose, wherein he was stylit traitor and excommunicat rebel, this honest man did crye out and callit him an honest nobleman as was in this kingdom. The magistrates of that toun, being informed of this speeche, were forcit to tak and apprehende him, and carriet him to Edinburgh, by ane guard of the tounne officeris, and presentit him to the Committee of Stait, than

sistand at Edinburgh. And he, by their order, was cast into the Thieffes Hoill, wherein he lay, in grate miserie, by the space of maney weeks."⁶

Their military preparations were conducted in a style equally vigorous. It was no sooner certain that Montrose had landed in Orkney, for the purpose of invading the northern extremity of the country, than they commanded David Leslie, their commander-in-chief, or, as Father Hay irreverently terms him, "Argyle's Postilion," to gather together at Brechin all those parties of horse and foot, which, since the conclusion of the war, had been dispersed over the country, as an army of protection. Before the muster was completed, Lieutenant-Colonel Strachan, a sectarian officer, who had lately distinguished himself in their service by the suppression of what was called "Pluscardine's Rebellion," was sent north with about two hundred and fifty horse, to countenance the levies which the Earl of Sutherland and other great whig chiefs were raising there, for the purpose of resisting Montrose's march through their territories. Leslie, with the foot, which amounted to about three thousand, followed Strachan as quickly as possible, marching generally thirty Scottish miles a-day.

It was about the beginning of March that Montrose himself landed in Orkney. He brought with him, for the accomplishment of his arduous enterprise, only five hundred foreign soldiers, who were chiefly officered by his Scottish adherents. These, added to the men formerly sent under the Earl of Kinnoul, gave him an army of no more than seven hundred disciplined men. It is true, he was able, by the assistance of the loyal gentlemen of the country, to raise and arm about eight hundred Orcadians; yet, when the unwarlike habits and per-

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haps general disinclination of these allies were considered, and when his want of horse to protect them was taken into account, it was hard to say whether he was likely to be the better or the worse of their assistance.

After a residence of three weeks in Orkney, during which he exerted himself not only to increase the numbers, but also to improve the discipline, of his army, he embarked the whole of his forces, fifteen hundred in gross number, at Holm Sound, the most part of them in fishing boats; and he soon had the satisfaction of landing the whole in safety, on the extreme northern point of the mainland of Scotland, near the celebrated place called John o' Groat's House. The people of this hyperborean country, by reason of their remoteness from the seat of government and of war, had hitherto been in a great measure exempt from the conscriptions and also from the military ravages to which every county south of Inverness had for some years been so cruelly exposed; and Montrose calculated securely upon raising a large regiment in each of the three shires of Caithness, Sutherland, and Ross. Having, for this purpose, unfurled a great banner which he had brought with him, on which was delineated the figure of the late king, with his head separated from his body, and the inscription "Judge and avenge my cause, oh Lord!" he began with his usual promptitude to collect and arm the natives. He at the same time proceeded to impose oaths of allegiance upon the inhabitants, and particularly upon the clergy, one of whom, upon his refusing to subscribe a bond of loyalty, he sent in irons to his ships.⁷ For the farther promotion of his levies, he divided his army into two parties, sending one forward towards the southern por-

tion of the county, under Sir John Hurry, while he himself moved more slowly with the other. Yet all his endeavours were in a great measure vain. The people, alarmed to the last degree at his proceedings, and previously inspired with a salutary horror for his cause by their ministers, fled everywhere before him ; some to take refuge under the Earl of Sutherland and increase the army for his opposition, while others did not stop their flight of terror till they reached the gates of Edinburgh, three hundred miles away.

As it was an object of importance with Montrose that he should keep the way open for a retreat to Orkney, in case of the worst, he commanded Sir John Hurry to secure, if possible, the strong castle of Dunbeath, near the south extremity of Caithness, which might serve for a guard to his path. The castle, being deserted by its master, was taken from the lady who possessed it without much difficulty, and a strong garrison was immediately planted in it. At the same time, as there was some reason to apprehend that the Earl of Sutherland might dispute the hill of the Ord with him, by which an entrance was alone to be procured from Caithness into Sutherland, he sent forward five hundred men to take possession of that famous and truly difficult pass ; which, fortunately, they accomplished just as the earl was coming up to anticipate and prevent them. When he finally became aware of the difficulty of raising men in Caithness, he passed over the Ord into Sutherland, leaving his natural brother, Henry, with a party, at once to possess Dunbeath, and to send after him such recruits as he might succeed in raising.

As he advanced into Sutherland, the earl reti-

red before him into Ross, leaving his houses of Dunrobin, Shelbo, Skibo, and Dornoch, under strong garrisons, to protect his lands. Montrose passed by these houses without making any attempt upon them. As he traversed the country, he was mortified everywhere, as in Caithness, by seeing the inhabitants fly with terror and aversion before him. On the sixth day after he had entered Sutherland, he arrived, with an army decreased to twelve hundred men, at Stratheckle, a vale at the head of the Frith of Dornoch, where the county of Sutherland adjoins to that of Ross. Encamping there, he resolved to wait for some days, that he might receive the promised assistance of the Earl of Seaforth and his brother Pluscardine, or at least hear something of their motions, before marching farther into the Low Country, where his little foot army would necessarily be more exposed, and where he would be more remote from his resources in Caithness and Orkney. From this place, confident of his strength and of the distance of his enemies, he sent a message to the Earl of Sutherland, informing him, that, though he spared his lands for the present, he would, before long, cause his more loyal neighbours to visit them with the burning and spoliation which they merited on account of his lordship's hostility to the royal cause. Alas, for his boastful security! This very nobleman, by cutting off every means he had of getting information from the south, and thereby preventing him from hearing of the approach of the enemy, was preparing for him a worse fate than that with which he himself was threatened.⁸

Colonel Strachan, who has been already mentioned as hastening northward to countenance the Earl of Sutherland's levies, had advanced, without

Montrose being aware of it, to Tain, (twenty miles from the royal camp,) where, having been joined by his lordship, together with his vassals, and those of his friends, the Rosses and Monroes, to the amount of five or six hundred men, a council of war was held regarding their subsequent motions. It was there determined, that, while the Earl of Sutherland should make a circuit round Montrose's camp, and get into Sutherland behind him, so as at once to protect his lands from the ravages of Henry Graham and the Dunbeath garrison, and be ready to prevent Montrose's escape northwards, Colonel Strachan should march directly against the enemy, with his four troops of horse, and the Monroes and Rosses. What chiefly induced them to make this arrangement was, that to delay till more strength came up, would in all probability frighten the enemy away to a securer position in the hills than what they now occupied in the level country at Stratheckle, and that, in the meantime, for want of good provender for their horse, they would after all be perhaps less able than now to make a vigorous attack.

While the Earl of Sutherland, therefore, retired into his own country, to intercept Montrose's retreat into Caithness, Strachan, at the head of two hundred and thirty horse, and a hundred and seventy foot, moved deliberately along the south shore of the Frith of Dornoch, in the direction of Stratheckle. It was Saturday, the 27th of April; and these pious soldiers for a long time hesitated to advance, lest they should have found it necessary to fight on the sacred day which was to follow.⁹ But they were soon determined in their original intention, by intelligence that Montrose had moved six miles nearer to them, so as to be with-

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in such a distance as would enable them to attack him that afternoon. When they had reached a place called Fearn, where they were only two miles from the enemy, they concealed themselves in a broomy muir, and sent out scouts to observe Montrose's motions, and to calculate his strength. These persons returning with intelligence that Montrose had just sent out a party of observation consisting of forty horse, it was resolved that the whole should remain quiet in the broom, excepting only one troop of horse, which, being sent out for display before the enemy, might lead him to think that he had no more to contend with. This judicious scheme was attended with the desired success. Montrose, being informed that a single troop was incautiously advancing towards him, took no pains to strengthen his position, but, merely placing the few horse he had a little in advance, under the command of Sir John Hurry, deliberately awaited their approach on a piece of low ground, where he had halted, close by the mouth of the river Kyle.

Strachan then marshalled his little party for the attack, dividing the whole into four parts; the first, consisting of a hundred picked horsemen, he commanded himself; the second, in number about eighty, he placed under the charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Halket; the third, amounting to forty, was commanded by Captain Hutcheson; and the fourth, in which all the foot were embodied, was led by a quarter-master of the name of Shaw.¹⁰ It was his design that, while he himself rode up with his party, so as to confirm the enemy at first in the notion that there were no more to oppose, the remaining three parties should come up in quick succession, and all at once overwhelm him with

the announcement, that he was, on the contrary, surprised by a large army.

Previous to setting out upon the charge, Strachan, according to the well-known custom of officers of his stamp, planted himself under the standard, in the midst of his men, and endeavoured to edify their resolution by singing psalms, reading passages of Scripture, and praying to the Almighty for success. He then cried to them, "Gentlemen, yonder are your enemies, and they are not only your enemies, but they are the enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ; I have been dealing this last night with Almighty God, to know the event of the affair, and I have gotten it; as sure as God is in Heaven, they are delivered into our hands, and there shall not a man of us fall to the ground."¹¹

The *ruse* which he had thus calculated for Montrose's destruction was completely successful. That unfortunate general no sooner observed the real strength of the advancing Presbyterians, than, alarmed to the last degree for the safety of his foot against so many horse, he ordered them to retire, with all possible expedition, to a craggy and woody hill, which lay at no great distance behind his position. Had they succeeded in attaining the place he indicated, before Strachan came up, they would have no doubt been secure from the charge of the cavalry, and might have even contrived, by firing from behind the rocks and trees, to put the enemy, charging over such rough ground, to confusion, and perhaps to flight. Unfortunately for them, Strachan made such haste, that, although the ascent of the hill was, in the words of Sir Robert Gordon, "verrie ill riding ground," he overtook the retiring loyalists before they could reach their place of refuge. As he, accordingly, made the

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attack at a moment when, both from their retrograde movement, and the depression of spirit occasioned by retreat, they were in the worst possible condition to meet it, he gained the victory almost at a stroke. The Dutch and other foreigners, alone, with that instinct of duty which is generally shown by mercenaries, made any vigorous resistance. The rest dispersed, and threw away their arms, without firing a shot.¹²

In this unhappy state of his affairs, Montrose himself fought for some time with desperate but unavailing valour; till at length, his horse being shot under him, and his army to all appearance broken beyond recovery, he was obliged to think of preserving his own life by flight. His noble young friend, Lord Frendraught, observing him at that dreadful moment to be destitute of a horse to bear him off the field, generously yielded up his own, observing, that "it was little matter what became of himself, so long as his majesty's lieutenant-general was well."¹³ Montrose, thus remounted, succeeded in getting clear of the wreck of the battle, being accompanied in his flight by the Earl of Kinnoul, (brother to the late earl,) and by various other principal officers.

Strachan's troopers, with the assistance of the Monroes and Rosses, continued to chase and slay the fugitive loyalists for the space of two hours, the approach of night alone preventing them at last from prosecuting their dreadful task any farther. Ten of the best loyalist officers were killed, along with several hundred common soldiers. Among the former was Menzies, younger of Pitfoddles, a brave young gentleman, who, being bearer of the standard on which were the drawing and inscription mentioned, refused every offer of quarter, and

was at last killed while fighting fiercely in defence of his charge. Two hundred of the loyalists were drowned in crossing the river near which the battle took place. Four hundred were taken prisoners, including Sir John Hurry and other thirty officers. Lord Frendraught, who had so generously yielded his horse to Montrose, had two wounds, and was taken. As for the victorious party, only two men were wounded, and one drowned. Strachan himself was hit on the belly by a musket bullet; but it was prevented from hurting him by the double plies of his buff-belt, upon which it alighted.¹⁴ The principal standard of the enemy, together with all Montrose's papers, fell into the hands of the victors, who, before quitting the field of battle, rendered thanks to God for their success. They soon after returned to Tain; but the country people of Ross and Sutherland continued to harass and kill the broken loyalists for several days.¹⁵ So many of the Orkney levies were slain, that it was afterwards discovered that there was not a family of gentry in that country which had not lost a son or a brother.¹⁶

CHAPTER XI.

MONTROSE'S CAPTURE AND EXECUTION.

With scoffs, and scorns, and contumelious taunts,
In open market-place produced they me,
To be a public spectacle.

Henry VI.

WHEN the unfortunate general retired from the field where he had seen his hopes finally and for ever blasted, he directed his route, either by accident or design, along the wild and uninhabited valley, at the mouth of which he had halted before the battle. At first he pursued his way on horseback, accompanied by the friends who had got away with him ; but, the ground becoming speedily unfit for his horse, and it being represented to him that he ran the less risk of capture by travelling without a retinue and in a humbler guise, he abandoned in succession his horse and his friends, threw away his cloak, staff, and sword, exchanged clothes with a Highland rustic, and toiled along the valley on foot. The whole of that night, and of the next day, and of the next night again, he pursued his lonely and difficult path, his body exhausted by hunger and fatigue, and his mind in all

probability a prey to the most agonizing sensations. When at length almost famished, "he fortunately," says the author of the Sutherland Memoirs, "to light in his miserie upon a small cottage in the wilderness, where he was supplied with some bread and milk." It must have been a strange sight to see the man who, two days before, seemed to have three kingdoms at his disposal, now reduced to implore the hospitality of the meanest shed which these three kingdoms contained. He was soon after, as he continued his flight, obliged by the extremity of hunger, to devour his gloves.¹

His first wish or intention after the battle, seems to have been to get north to Caithness, where he had still a party, and from whence, if no hope remained of renewing the war, he could easily get over to Orkney, or to the Continent. Unfortunately, his want of acquaintance with the country, and the real difficulties of travelling at all through such a mountainous region, prevented him from attaining his object. He could only wander wildly on, in famine and despair, amongst the immense hills which encumber the west of Sutherland, ignorant of almost every local circumstance, except that he believed himself to be leaving his enemies behind him.

Even in this satisfactory notion he was fatally disappointed. His enemies, apprised of the direction he had taken, by finding, in succession, his cloak, his sword, and his horse, and conjecturing that he might get into the country of Assynt, the western extremity of Sutherland, dispatched information to that effect, to Neil Macleod, the proprietor of the district, with a strict injunction that he should apprehend whatever stranger of a sus-

picious appearance came within his bounds, and promising him a splendid reward in case he should seize "James Graham." The Laird of Assynt, who had formerly served under Montrose, and who is even said to have been on foot with his vassals to join him in his present expedition, made no scruple to turn his attention to the duty enjoined upon him, but dispatched everywhere, in search of that "excommunicated traitor," parties of the very men whom he had just before designed for his service.

By one of these parties the unfortunate Montrose was discovered, along with an Orkney officer of the name of Sinclair, and both were immediately brought before the laird. When Montrose met his former friend, he thought there would be little difficulty in prevailing upon him to act as his guide to Orkney; but he soon found what a change his reverse of fortune had produced upon the mind of his captor. Neither pity for his condition, nor "great offers," (probably of preferment,) which Montrose made to him, had the least effect upon this hard-hearted man.² When the unhappy captive found him perfectly inexorable, he intreated that, by causing his men to dispatch him where he stood, he would save him from the ignominious death which his enemies were sure to inflict upon him.³ But this favour was also denied; and Assynt immediately sent off intelligence of his capture to General Leslie, who soon after sent a party under Major-General Holburn to conduct him to head-quarters.⁴

"Whatever indignities," to use the words of Laing, "the bitterness of party rage or religious hatred could suggest, were now accumulated upon a fallen illustrious enemy, formerly terrible and

still detested." Under the charge of Strachan and Halket, who had acquired the chief renown by the late victory, he was conducted through the north, in the same mean habit in which he had been detected; Leslie and Holburn being left behind to complete the reduction of his followers in Caithness and Orkney, which they very easily accomplished.

The Argyle government at Edinburgh, on learning the news of Montrose's defeat, had felt such a transport of joy as to decree Strachan a present of a thousand pounds sterling, together with a gold chain, calculated by its length to reach from his neck "to his boot-head," and at the clasp of which there was a costly diamond.⁵ But when they received intelligence that the hero's person was in their power, they could only express their satisfaction by ordering a public fast and thanksgiving to be observed over all Scotland.⁶ Having issued orders for his immediate removal to Edinburgh, they forthwith bestirred themselves in anticipation of his arrival, to settle among themselves the manner of his punishment. A committee of parliament was appointed, consisting of his known enemies, to advise the Estates upon this subject. They, after deliberating a very short time, gave in their opinion in writing, to the effect that, on his arrival, he should be, without further ceremony, sentenced to the ignominious death which his numerous treasons deserved.

Montrose, during his melancholy journey to Edinburgh, did not suffer his mind to be disturbed either by the personal indignities to which he was already subjected, or by the prospect of death and torture which lay in all its horrors before him. Knowing the worst which could befall him, and

having made up his mind to endure it, he rather expressed an indifference to the distresses of his situation. Being brought to the house of his father-in-law the Earl of Southesk, where two of his children were kept, he requested and obtained permission to see them; yet, neither at meeting nor at parting with these dear objects, could the natural majesty of his countenance be observed to be in the least degree disturbed. Almost everywhere on his journey, the people, at the instigation of the clergy, saluted him with abusive language, and even with more substantial tokens of their hate and horror; but the sedateness and serenity which belonged to his visage on ordinary occasions, never for a moment forsook it.

When lodging at the house of Grange, near Dundee, he is said to have very nearly achieved an escape. The lady of the house having, without the knowledge of her husband, conceived the idea of releasing him, plied his guards that night so well with strong liquors, that they all fell asleep. She then invested him with a suit of her own clothes, and directed him to make the best of his way through the guards. He had got through the hall, where the main guard lay, and had also passed the two exterior sentinels, who were sleeping upon their muskets, when, unfortunately, a drunken fellow, who had heard of the abundance of drink that night in the house, and desired to partake of it, met, seized, and discovered him. He was immediately remanded with much rudeness to his chamber, and there more effectually secured.⁷

At Dundee, where he lodged next night, he was treated with more kindness than at any other place he had passed on his journey. The people of this town, notwithstanding that they had lost more per-

happened by his wars than the inhabitants of any other city in Scotland, could not see so illustrious an enemy brought to so wretched a condition, without tears of pity. He was here furnished with clothes suitable to his quality, in place of the wretched Highland habit which his captors had hitherto, by a refinement in cruelty, compelled him to retain.⁸

Till this period of his journey, his treatment had been only such as the soldiers or the common people chose to inflict upon him; and it had been as severe as might be expected at the hands of persons inspired by feelings and actuated by circumstances such as theirs. He is now to be seen subjected to the official and constitutional contumelies of the government itself.

On Saturday, the 18th of May, having been brought over the Frith of Forth, and conveyed to the gate at the lower extremity of Edinburgh, he was transferred from the hands of the party of foot soldiers which had conducted him from the Highlands, into those of the magistrates and citizens, who, arrayed in burgh state, were there ready, by the orders of parliament, to undertake the duty of guarding him through the city to his prison. Here commenced the series of ignominious inflictions, which had been decreed for his punishment by the Committee of Estates.⁹ He was, in the first place, commanded by the hangman to uncover himself, in obedience to the terms of his sentence. On his refusing or hesitating to do so, the hangman rudely snatched off his hat, and took it away from him.¹⁰ He was then placed in a cart, which had been constructed on purpose for his transportation through the city, and which was peculiarly calculated to exhibit his person to the crowd, with all the required

circumstances of disgrace. At the end of the vehicle, which was itself higher than usual, there was reared a tall chair : upon it he was bound firmly down by cords which passed across his breast and arms, and which were fastened through holes behind. On the horse which drew the cart, sat the hangman, in his hideous livery, with a long staff in his hand, and having his head covered by his bonnet, the better to contrast with and show the ignominy of the prisoner.¹¹ In advance, his fellow-prisoners were conducted along the street, bound two by two, on foot and bareheaded, according to the fashion observed with highwaymen.

When he had been drawn within the gate of the city, the magistrates showed him his sentence. He read it with as composed a countenance as if it had been some document which had no reference to him, and finally returned it, with the observation, that " he would obey it : he was only sorry that, through him, his majesty, whose person he represented, should be so dishonoured."¹²

The whole of the lengthy and spacious street, along which Montrose had to be conducted, was filled, when he entered it, with a crowd, consisting chiefly of the lower orders, and especially of women ; almost all of whom had come out for the purpose of loading him in his passage towards the jail with their bitterest abuse, and with missiles of contempt. Their ministers had urged them to do so, at the fast held three days before on account of his capture ; and it was expected by the dominant powers, but especially by the clergy, that " the bloody and excommunicat traitor " would be half killed to their hands, or at least most effectually abused, before he got to the end of the procession. To the infinite disappointment of these

ungenerous enemies, the people were so overpowered by the dignity and courage which shone in the countenance of the sufferer, or were so much moved at the mere sight of illustrious distress, that they universally relented of their purpose, and, dissolving into tears, invoked blessings instead of curses upon his head. The sacred brethren were so much incensed at this exhibition of "malignancy," or backsliding, on the part of the people, that next day they could scarcely do any thing else in their pulpits but utter furious denunciations of heavenly wrath against them, for neglecting to embrace so excellent an opportunity of testifying against the great enemy of their order.

There was, however, at least one of their worshippers who obeyed their wishes, by insulting the fallen Montrose. This was the dark Argyle himself; the man of all others in Scotland most gratified by the scene which was taking place in Edinburgh that day. With an indelicacy almost as shocking as any portion of the general cruelty which distinguished this affair, Argyle had stationed himself, with his family and friends, on a balcony projecting from the house of the Earl of Murray, in the Canongate; where, as the cart passed on the street below, within the distance of three or four yards, he could enjoy a peculiarly near and full view of his unhappy victim. There, in triumph more disgraceful than the humiliation of Montrose, was stuck up, in secure and tranquil scorn, the man who, as a cavalier historian pathetically expresses it,¹³ had never dared to look Montrose in the face when his sword was in his hand, but who could now so boldly and so cheaply insult him, when the arm was bound which had wielded that terrible weapon. By a chance which added

greatly to the indelicacy of the scene, this was the day after the wedding of his eldest son Lord Lorn to the daughter of the Earl of Murray ; a day of family festival and rejoicing ; a day as auspicious to the fortunes of his house, as it was ominous to those of his unfortunate rival. It was, indeed, owing to the feasts incident to this very affair, that Argyle and his family were here stationed to behold Montrose's procession.

Whether in obedience to orders previously given, or from a wish on the part of the guard to gratify this important party of spectators, the cart was stopped for a short space beneath the balcony, so as to afford Argyle and his friends an opportunity of inspecting and insulting their enemy at leisure. It must have been a strange sight, to see two men of the noblest rank in the land, who had originally entered into life with equal prospects, and who had for a long time acted in concert together in political and also military transactions, now brought into situations so extremely contrasted—the one being, by dint of religious hypocrisy and chicanery, at the very head of the government of his country, while the other, by an unfortunate adherence to a side uncountenanced by the spirit of the times, was sunk literally, as well as metaphorically, under the other's feet, condemned by him to death, and at this moment exposed to any personal contumely which he chose to inflict. Never was the affecting image of "the stricken deer" more strikingly exemplified in mortal affairs than by this singular contrast.

The innate courage, however, and the strong self-possession which Montrose has been already described as showing under every sort of treatment, might almost be said, on the present occa-

sion, to turn the scale of triumph against his exalted but chicken-hearted rival. Before the cart approached, Argyle and his gay marriage-party, in the expectation of finding the criminal only a spectacle fit for ridicule, had put on their brightest smiles, and stood all on tiptoe to catch the first glimpse of so amusing an object. Even when he was presented to their sight, and was found to have been spared by the populace, they could not help looking upon him with a malicious grin of exultation and ridicule; the marchioness, in particular, choosing to express her feelings by spitting over the balcony upon the hated enemy of her house.¹⁴ Under all these circumstances, sufficient as they might seem to be to convert an angel of peace into a raging demoniac, this high-souled nobleman presented so serene and majestic a countenance to his triumphant enemies, that they shrunk back with confusion of face, and seemed to the eyes of all unprejudiced persons more contemptible, guilty, and degraded, than himself.

That the reader may be able to understand how anxious his persecutors were to make the most of this procession, it needs only to be mentioned that, although the whole distance was little more than half a mile, it occupied three hours' space; namely, from four o'clock P.M. when it started from the Watergate,¹⁵ to seven o'clock, when it finally arrived at the public jail, where Montrose and his fellow captives were to be bestowed.¹⁶ Protracted, however, as it was, the gallant marquis maintained his resolution to the very last; insomuch that, on alighting at the jail-door, he gave the hangman a sum of money for having driven what he good-humouredly termed his "triumphal chariot" with so much skill and care.¹⁷

Immediately after he had entered the prison, the parliament delegated two of its members, along with two ministers, to call for and converse with him. These deputies, however, he would not acknowledge or speak to till such time, he said, as they should be acknowledged by his master, the king. They having reported this to their constituents, it was determined in full parliament, that, for the sake of procuring intelligence from him regarding his friends and adherents, and also, if possible, regarding the young king, they should disclose to him that they had, since his defeat, concluded a treaty with his majesty, and of course procured a royal acknowledgment of their constitution as a parliament.¹⁸ But when the deputies returned at a late hour and informed him of this fact, he begged them to spare him their impertinencies for the present, as he was extremely fatigued with the hardships he had suffered on his late long journey, and particularly with "the elaborate complimentary ceremony which they had put upon him that afternoon."

All the next day (Sunday,) he was unceasingly persecuted by the visits of ministers and members of parliament, who alternately endeavoured to work his mind to a confession, and denounced him for his obstinate silence. Anxious as he was for repose, he expressed no violent symptoms of disgust at these annoyances; but seemed rather to resign himself to them, as a preparatory portion of his sentence, which he could not obviate any more than the last fatal scene. He told them that "they were much mistaken if they imagined they had affronted him by carrying him in a vile cart the day before; he esteemed it the most honourable and cheerful journey he had ever performed."

in his life ; his most merciful God and Redeemer had all the while manifested his presence to him in a most comfortable and delightful manner, supplying him with resolution to overlook the reproaches of men, and behold him alone for whose cause he suffered."¹⁹ He was guarded, while in prison, by the infamous Major Weir (afterwards burnt for sorcery and incest,) a wretch who was perhaps preferred to that duty on account of his wonderful fluency of prayer and revilement, and who contrived to give additional pain to his unfortunate charge by continually smoking tobacco, which Montrose was known to abhor.²⁰

Being cited to attend parliament on Monday at ten o'clock, he rose early that morning, and dressed himself in a fine suit of clothes which he had ordered to be prepared for him after arriving at Edinburgh. This suit consisted, according to the minute annalists of the time, in a scarlet rochet or coat, trimmed with silver galouns, lined with crimson taffeta, and reaching to his knee ; a set of pure black under-clothes, richly overlaid with lace ; a beaver hat, with a rich silver band ; carnation-coloured silk stockings, with garters ; and roses for his shoes.²¹ When brought into the Parliament House, he was commanded to ascend to what was called the place of delinquents ; a command which he obeyed, with a dauntless though modest air, uncovering himself, as he appeared before the members, in token of his respect for the character with which his sovereign had now been pleased to invest them.

He had no sooner appeared than the Chancellor (Earl of Loudoun) rose, and uttered a lengthened summary of his various rebellions, and bloody deeds against the state, expatiating with peculiar

emphasis upon his base desertion of the National Covenant, which he had at first promoted so heartily, and also accusing him of breaking the Solemn League and Covenant, for which the whole nation stood bound. At the conclusion of the invective Montrose stood up, and desired leave to say a few words in his own defence ; which being with some difficulty allowed, he thus addressed the assemblage :

- In all cases, he said, and particularly in public affairs, he had acted as became a good Christian and a faithful subject, and he had done nothing of which he was ashamed or had cause to repent. He confessed frankly that he had engaged in the first or National Covenant, and had complied with it, and with those who took it, as long as the ends for which it was ordained were observed ; but when he discovered, what was soon evident to all the world, that some private persons, under the pretence of reforming errors in religion, and preserving public liberty, intended to abridge and take away the king's lawful authority, and assume it themselves, he had then withdrawn himself from that engagement ; and when, in order to disappoint these men, and clear themselves from being concerned in such base designs, the honest part of the nation thought it necessary to enter into an association for the security of religion and the preservation of the royal authority, he likewise joined it and subscribed it. As for the Solemn League and Covenant, as he had never taken it, and never could approve it as a just or lawful confederacy, he did not see how he could be accused of having broken it. How far religion, which was now split into innumerable sects and parties, had been advanced by it, and what horrible mischiefs and

dreadful tragedies it had occasioned, the distressed state of the three kingdoms, he said, bore ample testimony. At the time when this infamous treaty was ratified, it had pleased the late king to commission him to enter the kingdom of Scotland, and endeavour to divert the people from their rebellious purpose. What had been his conduct throughout that enterprise, many persons present could bear witness : it had not always been in his power, any more than in that of the greatest known generals, to suppress the disorders of his followers ; but he had always endeavoured to do so. He had never spilt any blood, not even that of his most inveterate enemies, except upon the field ; and even in the greatest heat of action, he had preserved the lives of many thousands. As he had taken up arms only at the command of the king, so had he also laid them down upon his orders, without any regard to his own interest, and retired beyond the seas.

As to his late invasion, he said, he had undertaken it at the command of his present majesty, who conceived that it might accelerate the treaty he had begun with them. When that end should have been served, he declared that it was his intention to have laid down his arms as peaceably as he had formerly done at the command of Charles the First. Thus, he believed he might truly affirm that no subject had ever acted upon more honourable grounds, or by the sanction of a more lawful authority, than he had done.

He concluded by earnestly imploring them to lay aside all prejudice, private animosity, and desire of revenge, and consider him with a mere regard to the abstract justice of his cause. He beseeched them, before giving judgment, to reflect

upon the purity of his motives, the sacred names which had commissioned his actions, and the obligations under which they themselves lay to him for having spared their lives and fortunes at a time when he only wanted the inclination to have destroyed both. He intreated them to do nothing rashly or under the influence of personal feeling, but to judge him according to the laws of God, the laws of nature and nations, and particularly by the laws of the land. If they should refuse to do so, he appealed to the just judge of the world, who at last must estimate the merits of both accusers and accused.²²

As he delivered this pathetic but manly appeal, which is here given as the best possible vindication of his life and character, it was impossible for the most attentive observer to perceive, in his countenance, or in the tones of his voice, the slightest symptom of agitation of mind. On the contrary, many of those present afterwards confessed that he bore on this trying occasion precisely the same aspect, and spoke with precisely the same confidence, as they had formerly observed in him when he was moving at the front of a victorious army.²³ It would appear that, even in these circumstances of degradation and despair, the great Montrose carried in his outward bearing the marks of that superiority of intellect and character which his whole life had indicated: even on the seat of scorn, where he was now placed, he shone a superior being over the more exalted and honoured personages, who were assembled to satisfy their mean revenge by destroying him.

As might have been anticipated, and as he himself no doubt anticipated, his speech had no effect upon his judges, except, perhaps, that of alarming

their consciences, and damping a little the cruel joy which they felt in thus exercising arbitrary and unquestionable sway over a detested foe. While the rest sat under it with shaken courage and confusion of face, the chancellor, upon whose heart of iron a speech of daggers could have had no effect, rose and replied ; “ punctually proving him, by his acts of hostility, to be a person most infamous, perjured, and treacherous, and, of all that ever this land brought forth, the most cruel and inhumane butcher and murderer of his nation ; a sworn enemy to the Covenant and peace of his country, and one whose boundless pride and ambition had lost the father, and, by his wicked counsels, done what in him lay to destroy the son.”²⁴

The prisoner rose, and attempted to rejoin ; but Loudoun insolently ordered him to “ hold his tongue.”²⁵ Being ordered to kneel, in conformity to the decree of parliament, passed respecting him on Friday last, he obeyed, with a remark, that he only did so from respect to his master, who had acknowledged them, and not from any meanness of spirit or abstract disposition to honour them.²⁶ Sir Archibald Johnston, the clerk-register, then read out his sentence, in the following terms : “ He was to be hanged on a gibbet at the Cross of Edinburgh, with a copy of his ‘ Memoirs,’ by Wishart, and a copy of his ‘ Declaration,’ tied by a rope about his neck ; after hanging the space of three hours, he was to be cut down by the hangman ; his head, hands, and legs, to be cut off, and afterwards distributed as follows : his head to be affixed on an iron pin, and set on the pinnacle of the west gavel of the new prison of Edinburgh ; one hand to be set on the port (gate) of Perth, the

other on the port of Stirling; one leg and foot on the port of Aberdeen, the other on the port of Glasgow. If he was at his death penitent, and relaxit from excommunication, then the trunk of his body to be interred, by pioneers, in the Grey Friars' church; otherwise, to be interred, by the hangman's men, under the gallows, on the Burrow-muir." The dempster, or executioner, having, according to the custom of Scotland, repeated this doom, he was remanded to prison, to await his fate, which was to take place next day at three in the afternoon.²⁷

He had no sooner been replaced in the jail, than the ministers returned to the attack in full cry, striving, by exaggerated representations of the circumstances of death, and by threats of eternal damnation, to frighten him into a submission to their church, so that he might be relaxed from the pains of his excommunication. They were naturally very anxious to work his mind to this point; because, to have procured the obedience of so prime a malignant as Montrose, would have enabled them to triumph over the whole of his party, and of course to establish themselves more firmly in that domination over the public mind at which they were aiming. But he disappointed them in their efforts. Instead of feeling vexed, he said, at the decree of parliament, which ordered his head to be fixed on the pinnacle of the tolbooth, he was more gratified by the prospect, than he could have been had they decreed a golden statue to be erected to him in the market-place, or his picture to be suspended in the king's bed-chamber. Instead of regretting that his body should be separated into so many portions, he wished that he had flesh enough to afford a piece to every city in Christen-

dom, that his unshaken affection and fidelity to the cause of his sovereign might thereby be testified as extensively as possible.

He spent the ensuing night in reducing this last sentiment to verse, and in inscribing it upon the window of his cell. The lines were afterwards found to run as follows:—

Let them bestow on every airt²⁸ a limb,
Then open all my veins, that I may swim
To thee, my Maker, in that crimson lake;
Then place my parboil'd head upon a stake;
Scatter my ashes, throw them in the air;
Lord, since thou knowest where all these atoms are,
I'm hopeful thou'lt recover once my dust,
And confident thou'lt raise me with the just.²⁹

He also spent a considerable portion of this night in solitary prayer; having found it impossible, the day before, to compose himself for that purpose, on account of the impertinencies and persecutions of the clergy,³⁰ and being perhaps apprehensive that he would be allowed no more leisure for such a purpose during the ensuing forenoon.

Next morning, (Tuesday, May 21, 1650,) hearing the whole town resound with drums and trumpets, he asked his guards, who never left his chamber, what was meant by sounds so unusual. He was told that it was to call out the citizens and soldiers to arms, the parliament thinking it necessary to guard him strictly at his execution, lest the malignants should attempt a rescue. "Indeed!" he replied; "Is it possible that I, who was such a terror to these good men when alive and prosperous, continue still so formidable to them, now that I am bound for slaughter? In that case, I must be still more terrible to them when altogether dead."

In a similar spirit he replied to an impertinent remark which Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston had the brutality to make upon him as he was dressing himself for the last fatal scene. This stern and sullen puritan (who, it is some consolation to think, suffered an ignominious death, thirteen years after, on the very spot where Montrose suffered,) observing the unfortunate nobleman combing his hair, asked him if he could not find an employment more befitting his awful situation. "So long as my head is my own," said Montrose, "I will dress it as I have been accustomed to do; to-morrow, when it is yours, you may treat it as you please." This perhaps conveyed a taunt more than met the ear; for Warriston was one of an unrelenting party of his enemies, who, when some others proposed more merciful measures, insisted upon his suffering the whole punishment described by the sentence.

When the hour of execution approached, this illustrious man was conducted from the prison to the scaffold, on the same cart which had previously been used to drag him into the city. He was now dressed in a more sumptuous style than before. Besides his coat of scarlet, his under-clothes of black velvet, his carnation-coloured stockings, and shoes with roses, he now wore a splendid cloak of the same colour with his coat, laid over with the richest silver lace, and trimmed with gold. Upon his hands he had a pair of delicate white gloves; in one of them he carried his hat, round which there was an extremely rich band of gold. "He had," to use the words of Nichol, the diarist, "sarkis (*shirts*) provided for him, with pearlins about, above ten pund the ell, and also ane prettie cassick to put on him when he reached

the scaffold; all which were provided for him by his friends." His countenance and whole bearing were strictly of a piece with this gay attire; he seemed, says Nichol, rather like a bridegroom going to the house of his mistress, than a criminal on his way to the gallows. "So grand was his air," says Wishart, "so much bravery, majesty, and gravity, appeared in his countenance, that the whole city was shocked at the cruelty which was designed him, and even his enemies were obliged to confess that he was a man of the most lofty and elevated soul, and the most unshaken constancy and courage that his age had produced." On reaching the scaffold, and alighting from the cart, he said to a person whom he knew, "You see what compliments they put upon me; yet, after all, I never in my life took more delight in riding in a coach than I have done in that cart."³¹

A multitude more dense, perhaps, than was ever before collected on the High-street of Edinburgh, had already for several hours surrounded the area staked off for the scene of death. In the midst of that spacious and lofty *place*, on the very spot where this noble person had formerly acted as a great popular leader, there rose a scaffold nearly level with the eyes of the spectators, from the centre of which sprung a gibbet of the extraordinary height of thirty feet, with a tall double ladder leaning against it. A cluster of clergymen, in full canonicals, stood at the lower end of the scaffold; at another place stood the magistrates of the city, whose duty it was to see the sentence executed. The executioner, in his terrific livery, with his staff of office in his hand, formed another figure in the scene. A bench was there also laid out, with knives and axes, for the purpose of severing

the members of the victim, after he should be suspended the proper time. Around the scaffold, soldiers and armed citizens were arranged in numerous files, to guard against the possibility of escape or rescue. Every foot of ground to the distance of several hundred yards, and every window and balcony around, was crowded with spectators; some of whom were prepared to gratify their sensations of personal vengeance, some to feast their complacent spiritual pride, while the great mass was simply attracted by curiosity to witness the last agonies of so celebrated and so remarkable a fellow creature.

Immediately after he had mounted the scaffold, Montrose attempted to address the people assembled round it; but that privilege, common to every species of malefactor in Scotland, was sternly denied to him; he was only permitted to open his mind to the individuals who immediately surrounded him. A few of his last expressions, as preserved by a boy who secretly took them down in short-hand writing, may be given here, as being in all probability strongly characteristic of the man.

"I would now be very sorry," he said, "if this scene should be a scandal to any good Christian. My fate is one which may happen to the righteous from the hands of the wicked, as well as to the wicked from the hands of the righteous. They that know me should not condemn me for it; for many greater than me have been dealt with as hardly. Yet, however I may consider my fate hard as inflicted by man, I acknowledge it just as coming indirectly from God. I therefore blame no man for it, nor complain of any man's judgment; I take it from the hand of God, whose instruments

they are, and forgive them for it ; may God also forgive them. To exonerate myself from the scandal with which many good people load me, I obtest that all I did was from pity for distressed sovereignty. I have never known any other maxim of conduct than to fear God and honour the king. I have not sinned against man, but against God ; and with him there is mercy, and this is my ground of hope in drawing near to him. I pray God that there be no farther judgments on this land. As for that which the Lord's people chiefly urge against me, namely, that I am excommunicated by the church, I can only say, it is not my fault, as the sentence was incurred purely by my zeal for the service of my lawful prince. Yet I am sorry that they excommunicated me ; and if I could be relaxed without infringing the laws of God or trenching upon my allegiance, I would be very happy. If not, I must appeal to God, who will be a less partial judge. One thing has been urged against me by another party—that I lay all the blame on the king. God forbid ! As for the late king, he lived a saint and died a martyr ; I pray God I may end so ; and if ever I could wish my soul in another man's soul's stead, it would be in his. And for this king, who, I hope, will soon be established in peace over the people he is so well qualified to govern with discretion, all his commands to me were most just, and all his engagements did he most faithfully fulfil. I pray that nobody may attribute the loyalty of my principles to obdurateness of heart ; it is but the light of my soul and conscience, and God's spirit in me. I thank God I go not to Heaven's throne ignorantly, though I have not much knowledge. I desire not to be presumptuous. It is God that suffers me not to fear the terrors of

death. It is the conscience and reason which he has given me, that enables me to appear here with courage. Whatever my end be, let God be glorified, though it were to my damnation. I say not this out of weakness and fear, but out of my duty to God and love to his people; for, looking on you, I cannot but mourn; therefore, I can say no more, but desire your prayers. You that are scandalized at me, give me your charity; I shall pray for you all. I leave my soul to God, my service to my prince, my good-will to my friends, and my name in charity to you all. I might say more, but this is enough to exonerate my conscience. The rest I leave to the mercy of God."³²

When he had thus delivered himself, the clergymen approached him, and asked for the last time if he would accept of a relaxation from their censure upon the terms formerly proposed. He firmly replied that he could not, but desired to have their prayers. They rejoined, that, so long as he was under sentence of excommunication, they could not yield him any ghostly assistance; nor would it be of any service to him, as he was consigned to perdition by the sentence, and their prayers could not reverse his doom. One of these mistaken men did not scruple even to tell him, that he was a faggot of hell, and he already saw him there burning.³³ Without being discomposed by their taunts, the unfortunate nobleman proceeded to utter a solitary prayer of about a quarter of an hour's length, covering his face during the time with his hat, and holding up the remaining hand to heaven.

He then addressed himself to the final duty of preparing his person for the gibbet. Calling for the executioner, he gave to that officer of terror a

few pieces of gold, along with some directions regarding the signal for death. He pleaded earnestly to be permitted to wear his cloak and hat, but was told that he could not on any account be gratified in such a wish. The man brought him the volume of his Memoirs, and the copy of his Declaration, which the Estates had decreed to be suspended round his neck, and he accommodated himself with great apparent good humour and alacrity to the duty of having these trophies adjusted according to the humour of his judges ;³⁴ they were arranged like epaulets on his shoulders.³⁵ While this little ceremony was in progress, he remarked that he felt more satisfaction in this flattering badge—this splendid collar of merit, than he had experienced even at that proud moment when invested by the hand of his sovereign with the honourable order of the garter. But when the magistrates ordered his arms to be pinioned, this gay humour suddenly gave place to displeasure and indignation. However, he had sufficient presence of mind to express no dissatisfaction. He only asked, with bitter irony, if they had any other compliment or mark of respect to bestow upon him ; as, having but a short time to live, he was naturally anxious to enjoy as many of the honours of this world as possible.

When he had completed all these painfully minute preparations, which are so apt to seem to the mind of an unconcerned spectator more intolerable to the sufferer than even the step of death itself, this greatly injured and unfortunate man, with the same modest courage and serenity of aspect which he had hitherto sustained, submitted to the last infliction which his enemies had to bestow upon his

living body. The executioner wept as he turned him from the ladder, and the last sounds which reached the ears of Montrose,³⁶ were those of regret and pity, which the sight of his death occasioned amidst the surrounding multitude.³⁷

CHAPTER XII.

CHARLES II.'S RESIDENCE IN SCOTLAND.

Subjected thus,
How can you say to me I am a king?
King Richard the Second.

WHEN Charles was informed of the execution of Montrose, and was at the same time made aware that the catastrophe had been hurried purely that he might have no opportunity of remonstrating, he is said to have felt no little grief for the loss of so faithful and gallant an adherent, and quite as much indignation at the cruelty which dictated the deed. Being, however, told by the more moderate party of the Scottish Presbyterians, that his friend had been sacrificed chiefly as a means of conciliating the wilder party to his restoration, and it being hinted to him that he had best say nothing about an affair in which he had conducted himself with some share of duplicity, he was obliged to sit quietly down with the affront.

This youthful prince now also found it necessary to close the negotiation with the Scottish commissioners, which Montrose's enterprise had for a little time interrupted. He set sail for Scotland, upon the hard terms already specified, within a few days after he had heard of Montrose's death.

The Whig historians have hitherto, almost without contradiction, represented Charles's conduct in this unnatural alliance as altogether selfish and treacherous. That a prince, who was already a secret Catholic, and who entertained arbitrary notions of government, should have assumed the guise of character, and signed the bonds, required of him by the Scottish Presbyterians, appears to the conceptions of those writers an act of excessive atrocity, as regards his character both as a sovereign and as a man. Yet, without laying any stress upon the necessity of the times, which justifies all political actions whatever, it would not perhaps be difficult to show, that his conduct was quite consistent with the ordinary morality of princes and rulers. It cannot, at least, be disputed that the views of his Scottish subjects, and consequently their whole conduct, were quite as self-seeking and uncandid as his own. The dominant party in Scotland would never have attempted to restore him, would never have troubled themselves with him at all, if they had not seen that he was a weapon which could be used with effect against the English sectaries, or had it not been at least their opinion that it was better for them to take him, with a promise to protect and extend their system of faith, than to submit to Cromwell, who was sure to exterminate it, root and branch. Thus, allowing that Charles had no end in view but the selfish one of restoring himself by means of the Covenanters, what is there, after all, so base in his conduct? The whole case was simply a league betwixt two powers of opposite natures, entered into for mutual convenience, and where each, as a matter of course, made concessions to the other. Nor can Charles

he justly charged with afterwards deserting the cause of the Covenant. He maintained it so long as it could maintain him ; which was virtually the end of the treaty. If he subsequently entered into different relations, and even found it necessary to proscribe the very bond which he had signed, he did nothing more than merely bow to a demand of the time which it must have been fatal for him to resist.

Accompanied by the Dukes of Buckingham and Hamilton, the Earls of Cleveland, Brainford, Dunfermline, Lauderdale, and Carnwath, the Lords Wentworth, Widdrington, Wilmot, and Sinclair, and by various other English and Scottish cavaliers, Charles set sail for Scotland on the 3d of June. His little fleet was under great danger, during the voyage, from the ships of the English Commonwealth, which had orders to seize him if possible, and carry him prisoner to London. But he fortunately escaped every peril, and got safe into the mouth of the river Spey, after a voyage of about twenty days. He landed at the little village of Garmouth, within the embouchure of the Spey, on the 23d of June, but not till he had previously, on ship-board, signed the Covenant, and made solemn professions to the Scottish commissioners and clergy who accompanied him, of his intention to prosecute the ends of that sacred bond.

As it was now in some measure become the policy of the Presbyterian government to encourage a loyal sentiment in the bosoms of the people, the intelligence of the safe arrival of the king in Scotland was everywhere received with both public and private expressions of joy. The news reached Edinburgh late in the evening of the 26th

of June ; and immediately, by order of the parliament, which was sitting at the moment, the guns of the castle were fired, bonfires were lighted, trumpets sounded, and bells rung ; while orders were sent off to all parts of the kingdom to observe similar ceremonies. The people, finding their own humble feelings of loyalty thus countenanced, chanted songs of rejoicing through the streets of the city all night ; “and next morning,” says the simple annalist, Andrew Nichol, “the pure [*quasi dicitur* poor] kaill-wyves at the Trone war sae overjoyed, that they sacrificed their standis and creillis, yea the verie stoollis they sat on, in ane fyre.”

Yet, as there was great danger that the presence of royalty might encourage the fatal error of malignity, and tend to give the king too much power, it was soon found necessary to alter this policy. On the city of Aberdeen, for instance, having presented fifteen hundred pounds to the king, the parliament sent an injunction to prevent the other burghs through which he had to pass, on his way to the south, from doing any thing of the same sort.¹ For the same purpose, at St Andrews, one of their chief men among the clergy, Mr Samuel Rutherford, told his majesty, in an oration, that if he did not act in strict conformity to the moderate system of government laid down in the Covenant, “actum est de Rege, et re regia”—it was all over with him and his affairs.²

They soon gave him still more unequivocal hints of their intention to restrain him. Instead of bringing him to Edinburgh, where his presence might have had an effect upon the army and upon a large body of the people, they condemned him to be secluded in the palace of Falkland in Fife ; a situa-

tion at once convenient as within a day's journey of the seat of government, and which was such as to allow no possibility of a large court gathering about him. They next proceeded to withdraw from his presence all such persons as they judged likely to encourage him in notions adverse to their own views. They banished beyond seas almost all the English cavaliers who had come over with him. They obliged the Scottish Engagers, or moderate cavaliers, to retire to their own homes. The other malignant noblemen or gentlemen who came forward to congratulate the king on his arrival, they permitted only to kiss his majesty's hand, and then to return to their houses or places of banishment.³

The Duke of Buckingham was almost the only English royalist they would suffer to remain near the king; a fact the more wonderful, as his grace happened to be a man of precisely that scandalous manner of life which they pretended in their acts to be the cause of their banishing the malignants from Charles's presence. The truth is that Buckingham, by taking the Covenant, by courting Argyle, and affecting a great zeal for their cause, had succeeded in making them believe him necessary to their interests.⁴ The Engagers would have done any thing to be permitted to remain; even to the extent of sitting on the stool of repentance and submitting to be rebuked by the minister, in the face of the congregation, for the irreligious degree of loyalty which they had displayed. But, with the exception of the Earls of Dunfermline and Crawford, the former of whom actually sat to be rebuked in his own seat in the church of Dunfermline, none were admitted upon even these hard terms. To give the reader some idea of the rigour with which the Presbyterian or Argyle faction pro-

secuted their object, the following anecdote may be related :

The Earl of Carnwath having one day entered the Privy-chamber at Falkland, when the Marquis of Argyle was already there, the marquis taxed him with presumption for coming into such a place, when he well knew that by the Act of Classes he was rendered infamous and incapable of serving the king. Carnwath, unable to resist, went up to his majesty, and informed him that, however good friends they were, it appeared that they must now part : he only hoped that he would never have any about him less faithful than himself. As he turned to leave the room, he said to Argyle, " This is your doing ; but I value it not." Then coming into the Presence-chamber, the earl went up to the table or cloth of state, by one side of which stood the Earl of Cassillis, while Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston and Sir John Chiesly, two noted wild men, stood upon the other. But, the incident which had just occurred in the Privy-chamber being already known here, and a resolution having been taken on the subject, Mr Wood, a clergyman, beckoned his lordship away to the door. When they were without, Lord Carnwath said to Wood, " Sir, I hope God will forgive me ; will not you ?" on which the haughty presbyter turned away, without speaking a word. Carnwath then left the court : and happy was it for him that he did so ; for Warriston and Chiesly had already given orders to Sir James Balfour, the Lord Lyon, to seize and hang him immediately, unless he should have departed.⁵

The servants and friends thus taken away from the king were replaced by others of a perfectly orthodox complexion. His life-guard was composed of the sons of the chief Covenanters, and command-

ed by Lord Lorn, eldest son of the Marquis of Argyle. No sort of person whatever was permitted to approach him, unless previously approved by the kirk. His meanest servants were obliged to show that they had subscribed the Covenant. It was, however, upon the clergy, who closely surrounded him, that the ruling party chiefly depended for the means of keeping him in check. These persons were scarcely ever out of his presence. Under the pretence of instructing him in the true religion, they thrust themselves into his very bedroom.⁶ They approached him with the ceremonials due to his nominal rank, uncovered themselves before him, knelt when they presented any thing to him, and were to all appearance his devoted slaves; but in their conversation they took all the freedoms which they esteemed themselves entitled to, in virtue of their supposed office of ministers of Christ. If he played at cards, danced, or even indulged too freely in more innocent modes of relaxation and amusement, they overwhelmed him with invectives and rebukes. Every day he was obliged to attend for several hours to their endless prayers and sermons, both of which alike were generally nothing more than vituperative orations regarding his own sins and those of his family. On Sunday, during which he was not permitted so much as to walk abroad, he was nauseated with an extraordinary dose of their discourses; and a still more intolerable quantity was administered on what were called days of humiliation and fast. Burnet relates that, on a particular fast-day, when he himself was present, the unfortunate king had to sit out six long sermons, which were preached end-long, without intermission, and which lasted almost from morning till night.⁷

While he was undergoing this system of penance, which his tutors esteemed a necessary probation preparatory to his becoming king, they took care that he should not possess the least degree of royal authority. They managed every thing themselves, from the levying of his army down to the appointment of his menials. It is probable that they would have treated him with even greater cruelty, but for the necessity of keeping him in heart, as a set-off against the Commonwealth of England, which was now threatening to invade the country, and which they knew they could never hope to cope with, unless to a certain degree countenanced by the king and his friends.

The men at the head of affairs in England had watched with great care and anxiety the whole progress of what a pamphleteer of the time was pleased to call "the Intrigues of Jockey with his young King;"⁸ and, as these were decidedly hostile to their new government, they soon formed a resolution of entering upon active measures against the Scots. They first published a declaration, showing that while they had no design to impose their own mode of government upon Scotland, and only wished mutual forbearance on that score, the Scots were evidently inspired with a wish to bring back the government of both countries to that monarchical system which it had cost them so much blood to extirpate, and which was so decidedly incompatible with the civil as well as religious interests of all good Britons. To prevent the Scots, they said, from destroying themselves, to prevent them from breaking their own boasted Covenant, to prevent them from plunging the island from end to end once more into blood, they declared themselves obliged to invade them with an army. They ex-

pressed themselves extremely sorry to be thus in appearance the first breakers of the Covenant, which had obliged both nations not to make war upon each other without three months' warning; but they took all the world to witness, if the Scots had not provoked them to it by previously breaking that sacred bond in spirit, if not in terms. Finally, as they professed their expedition to be one rather of mercy and brotherly kindness, than of uncompromising hostility, as they were willing to chastise with the rod, rather than to punish with the sword, they promised to do no harm to those who were seduced through weakness, and who should immediately return to reason.⁹ Having, accordingly, mustered an army of sixteen thousand men, which they thought proper to place under the command of Cromwell, they were ready to counteract the policy of their northern brethren almost as soon as Charles had landed in the country.

The intelligence of Cromwell's preparations to invade them occasioned some alarm in Scotland; an alarm which acquired no small additional force among the common people, from the reports of the cruelties which he had just been practising for the reduction of Ireland. It was, however, determined by the parliament, that an army of thirty thousand men should be raised for the defence of the country. To retard Cromwell's march, all that fertile country which lies betwixt Berwick and the capital, was laid waste and deserted by its inhabitants; and the whole force of the kingdom was gathered to receive him, behind a strong line of fortifications which extended from Edinburgh to Leith. The command of the army was given nominally to the venerable Earl of Leven, but was

in reality enjoyed by his more juvenile and active namesake David Leslie.

There was now something extremely piquant and interesting in the attitudes of the various parties which composed the British public. On one side we see the Presbyterians, Scottish and English; a large party of men, who, for the sake of altering pudding for cake, had embroiled their country in a civil war; who had eventually been overpowered by the very demons they had conjured up to achieve their dreadful purposes; and who were now seeking, by a coalition with the power they had originally assailed, to protect themselves from their revolted servants. On the other side stands the Sectarian army, formerly the servant but now the master of the other; a band of intractable enthusiasts, pretending to be independent of all government civil and religious, actuated by the most extravagant and incalculable views, and trampling under their armed heels every interest and privilege of the community; yet, in all their indomitable wildness, as docile to the hinted will of one powerful spirit, their favourite and their leader, as the bridleless steed of Arabia is to the flexures and inclinations of his master's person. Aside from the positions of both, are the Cavaliers; depressed, ruined, and despised; but entertaining hopes to get their own back, and see their patron restored, in the event of the other two parties falling into a quarrel.

It was on the 16th of July, only a fortnight after the news of Charles's landing had reached London, that Cromwell crossed the Tweed with his army, for the purpose of reducing this kingdom, hitherto unconquered, to the will of the English Commonwealth. As his men left the liberties of

Berwick, and for the first time trode Scottish ground, they uttered a vehement shout, to express the enthusiasm with which they entered on a campaign, calculated, as they expressed it, to extend the reign of the saints on earth.¹⁰ It was soon discovered, however, that this would not be so easy a matter as had been at first anticipated.

The desolation of the country was a most serious obstacle to the progress of the saints. Not only was the ground destitute, to use the language of the time, of every thing in the shape of leaf and ear, root and branch,¹¹ but the very people had retired out of sight. In recollection, perhaps, of the former practices of the nation in cases of invasion from England, the Scottish Estates had resolved upon a desultory system of warfare, by which the enemy might be gradually weakened and intimidated, without ever coming to a serious engagement. The English, therefore, as they advanced into Berwickshire, saw no Scotsmen capable of bearing arms, except such as suddenly appeared around them in small parties, for the purpose of cutting off their stragglers and intercepting their supplies of provisions. This was in strict obedience to the orders of government, by which persons of every rank and condition were forbidden, under pain of death, to approach the accursed army of Sectaries, for the purpose of assisting them. The better to enforce this order, the ministers had taken care to inspire the lower orders with a salutary feeling of horror and fear for the invaders. They told them, and Cromwell's late proceedings in Ireland almost justified the assertion, that it was the intention of the English to kill, or at least to cut off the right hands of all Scotsmen capable of bearing arms, and to burn with hot

irons the breasts of all women capable of bearing children. Accordingly, at all the little towns which he successively passed through, he found scarcely a single male person betwixt the ages of six and sixty, and no women except such as were exempt by age from the fate with which he was supposed to have threatened them. The few wretched creatures that remained, old men and women, bed-ridden persons and children, met him on their knees, with supplications that he would spare their lives. In the whole course of his march from Berwick to Edinburgh, he did not see ten men.¹² He published manifestoes as he went along, calling upon the people to return to their homes, and assuring them that he designed them no harm; but these had not time to operate before the occasion was past. Accordingly, as it was not always possible to draw provisions from the ships which glided along the coast in attendance upon his motions, and as there was nowhere any good lodging to be obtained, his men soon began to exclaim that Captain Cold and Captain Hunger formed an enemy more dreadful than that which they had been led to expect, or which they had undertaken to cope with.¹³ During the last six days of his march, his men were actually reduced to the necessity, so peculiarly grievous to Englishmen, of feeding on bread and water.¹⁴

On arriving at Musselburgh, six miles from the capital, Cromwell established his magazine and head-quarters at the mansion-house of Stoney-hill, and led forward a party to view the works of the enemy. On the same day, July 29, King Charles was brought down by his tutors from Stirling to Leith, and permitted to salute the army. Nearly forty thousand men, it is said, had collected on

the Links of Leith, to defend their king and religion from the attacks of Cromwell. Among them were many Englishmen, both of the Presbyterian and cavalier factions, who identified their interests on this occasion with those of the Scottish Estates. Yet all this enthusiasm was destined to be in vain. The ruling party, afraid to admit any other interest than their own into this grand enterprise, subjected the immense force collected to a purgation, as they called it; by which, as no man could be accepted who was not a thorough adherent of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, many thousands of the bravest and best of the army were forced to retire. At the very moment when King Charles came up to salute them on the Links of Leith, the army was undergoing this unhappy process, and he had the mortification to see his very best friends turned away from his service before his face. The forces which remained, instead of being called the king's army, as was customary in former times, and as is customary at the present day, were invested with the anomalous title of the kirk army. If we are to believe Father Hay and other Tory historians, there were none left, after the purgation, but knaves and cowards;¹⁵ but the purgers, at the time, gave a very different account of the matter. It was better, they said, to fight their enemies with a handful of elect and godly people, than with mighty arms loaden with sin, which, like Acan's wedge, would surely be the cause of their destruction.¹⁶ With this little army of saints, they assured the people that they did not entertain the least doubt of gaining a victory over the accursed sectaries. If God did not enable them to do so, and failed to espouse the cause of his own people against his own enemies, some of them

did not scruple to declare he should no longer be their God.

Alas, it was soon found that mere religious fervour, if unsupported by some share of worldly courage and experience, will do little in military affairs. On Cromwell's advancing to Restalrig, a place about half a mile from the Scottish trenches, a party was sent out to skirmish with him, under the command of Sir James Halket. A rencontre took place, which was witnessed by the king from the battlements of Edinburgh Castle; but the Scots could stand no time against the well-disciplined soldiers of Cromwell. He beat them back with great slaughter to their leaguer, which he would perhaps have entered sword in hand after them, had he not been checked by a flank fire from the fortifications of Leith. On his retiring that evening to Musselburgh, which he only did in consequence of the inclemency of the weather, another, and a stronger party, under the command of Colonel Montgomery, son to the Earl of Eglintoune, made an insidious circuit of nearly thirty miles, and fell upon his flank, just as he had joined his main body at Musselburgh. But the English, incensed beyond measure at the orders which they heard given forth by their assailants, that they should give the accursed Sectaries no quarter, repelled the assault with an extraordinary degree of spirit; killed nearly a hundred of the Scots; took an immense number prisoners, and drove back the rest in disgrace to Edinburgh.¹⁷ At this skirmish, it is a somewhat remarkable fact, the English discovered that there were English cavaliers mingled with the Scottish puritans, by hearing several of them, as they fell, uttering the characteristic phrase, "God damn me."¹⁸ One of them, as he expired, was heard to

mutter, "Damn me, I'll go to my king."¹⁹ It would thus appear that, at this particular period, the purgation just described had not been altogether completed. Cromwell, next day, to testify his real good-will to the Scots, and endeavour to gain upon their affections, sent all the wounded back to Edinburgh in carts, and was even so kind to one particular person of distinction, who had been sorely hurt, as to transport him to the camp in his own carriage.

The Scottish estates and kirk boasted in their public documents, of having done immense execution upon the enemy, in both these rencontres; but the feeling of the people was, that they had received more mischief by them than they had occasioned to Cromwell. There even seems to have been a depression of spirit in the Scottish army, in consequence of their losses. Balfour informs us, that one nobleman, whom he delicately calls the Earl of W., was so much affected next morning, that, on being summoned to march out with a party, he sent a message back to the lieutenant-general, to the effect that "he could not goe out upone service till he had his breakefaste." "The breakefaste," continues the annalist, "was, foure hours in getting, untill the lieutenant-general, being previly advertised by a secrett friend, that my lord was peaceably minded that morning, sent him express orders not to marche, to save his reputation. On this, the gallants of the army raised a proverbe, that 'they would not goe out on a party untill they got their breakefaste.'"²⁰

The want of provisions, and the impossibility of landing them at Musselburgh, obliged Cromwell, soon after this, to retire to Dunbar, where some vessels, sent by the English parliament, were wait-

ing to land their stores. As soon as his back was turned, the ministers of Edinburgh gave God thanks "for sending the Sectarian army back the way they came, and flinging such a terror into their hearts, as made them fly when none pursued." Cromwell, however, stayed only to land his provisions, before he was again on the march back to Edinburgh; which caused the Scottish clergy, says Whitelocke, to be somewhat ashamed of their premature thanksgiving. Before he returned to Musselburgh, General Leslie had issued an order, "that the gude women of that town (for such are the terms in which it is reported by Whitelocke) should aw come away wi' their gear, and not stay to bake or brew for the English army, on pain of death;" and thus, continues the memorialist, Cromwell found the town even more forlorn than when he first visited it. The Scottish Estates were still persisting in their cruel policy of desolating the country, as the best means of getting the better of their invaders. The author just quoted, records, as a dreadful instance of the misery to which the natives were thus reduced, that, at Cromwell's return to Dunbar for provisions, he found the inhabitants so much in want of food, as to pick up the beans from before the horses of his troopers, and eat the intestines of the sheep which they killed.²¹

When his men had been thoroughly refreshed with their provisions, and, at the same time, duly animated by two days of continued exhortations and prayer, he drew them along to the westward of Edinburgh, with the view of attacking the Scottish army in rear, and thereby provoking it to an engagement. He pitched his camp near Colinton, a village about three miles to the south-west of the city; on which the Scots drew out, and

faced him at Corstorphine. It was not, however, in the power of either army to attack the other in this place, as the ground which lay between them was boggy, and unfit for the evolutions of horse. Cromwell, therefore, lay for some days overlooking the city, until at length, his provisions being exhausted, he was forced to retire to Musselburgh, where he had established his stores, and where he had a number of mills continually at work. While making this retrograde march, it is acknowledged by the historians of both armies, that the Scots might have had him at a great disadvantage, by falling upon his flank and rear, which they might have easily done. Cromwell, however, with his usual sagacity, had taken care to select a Sunday for his march, a day on which he knew that the Scots, like the Jews of old, would not fight upon any account, except in self-defence.

He returned next day to his former position, and a few days more elapsed without any transaction of importance. In the meantime, the all-ruling Presbyterians endeavoured to obtain new concessions from the king. To vindicate themselves from the imputations thrown upon them by Cromwell, which taxed them with espousing the cause of malignity, they pressed his majesty to sign a declaration, in which he should abjure all the former maxims and principles of his family, express his abhorrence of the conduct of his father, and of the religion of his mother, and promise henceforth to govern expressly in accordance with the moderate principles laid down in the Covenant, and with the interests of the Presbyterian church. Charles, for some time, refused to dishonour the names of his parents, and compromise his own politics, by signing such a declaration ; but he was at length in-

duced to do it by the violence with which his governors conducted themselves on his refusal.

Fortified by this charter, which was called "The Dunfermline Declaration," on account of its having been constructed at that town, the Scots felt renewed confidence in the strength of their cause against the Sectaries. It was now with some difficulty, that General Leslie could prevent them from rushing directly against the enemy. A rencontre actually did take place in the neighbourhood of Corstorphine. Cromwell, finding himself every day grow weaker, and foreseeing that he could not remain another week in the country without a victory, led out a forlorn party against the advanced guard of the Scots, whom he hoped by this means to provoke to a general engagement. The Scots had the prudence to retire without fighting, though rather in obedience to the command of General Leslie, than the wishes of the clergy. Cromwell was so eager on this occasion, that he rode a good way in advance of his men, so as to tempt a Scottish dragoon, who knew his person, from having formerly fought with him in England, to turn about in his flight, take a deliberate aim, and endeavour to bring down the arch-enemy of the Covenant. The ball did not take effect; and Cromwell was so little affected by his danger, as to halloo after the retreating soldier, that "if he had been one of his men, he would have cashiered him for firing at such a distance."²²

At length, the situation of the English general became truly distressing. A malady, which an historian of the time²³ calls "the Country Disease," had got into his camp, and affected a great portion of his army. His men were also beginning to murmur loudly regarding the cold of the Scottish

climate; a grievance which they felt peculiarly during the night, exposed as they were on the bleak slopes of the Pentland Hills, to the eastern sea-blasts, which were at that period of the year perpetually assailing them. In the impossibility of fighting the Scottish army, Cromwell sent a message to its leaders, proposing to depart from their country, bag and baggage, and leave them to govern themselves as they pleased, provided they would engage not to press him in his retreat. But that only inspired them with the greater confidence against him. They immediately sent out a party towards Musselburgh, with the view of intercepting his provisions, and thereby reducing him to the point of capitulation. It was only by a counter-movement of his own, which he executed during a very tempestuous night, that he was able to save himself. He drew the whole of his army, between night and morning, down to Musselburgh, where his ships were lying, and at day-break astonished the enemy, by showing himself in the very place where they least expected him. He now saw it was time to take some desperate measure for his own relief. It was impossible to remain at Musselburgh, because he could not there fortify himself, so as to hold out against the enemy for any length of time. The only other place between Musselburgh and Berwick, where it was possible to communicate with his ships, was Dunbar; and that was, moreover, the only seaport on the same range of coast, which admitted of fortification. He therefore determined to withdraw himself to this little maritime burgh, and there endeavour to entrench himself till he should be relieved from England.

It was on Saturday the 31st of August, that

he commenced this memorable retreat. That night, before the main part of his troops had reached Haddington, the Scottish army, which had immediately come out in pursuit, fell upon his rear of horse, and drove it up to the rear-guard of foot. But a cloud, which, as he himself remarks in a letter, providentially came over the moon at that moment, prevented any farther mischief. He quartered in Haddington for the night, and next morning drew out on a field to the south, and offered battle to the enemy. After bravading them for a few hours, without provoking an attack, he resumed his march, and in the evening came to Dunbar, where he immediately began to entrench himself. The Scots followed, but not exactly in a direct line. Drawing off to the south, they swept along the slopes of the Lammermuir Hills, with the view of intercepting his retreat to Berwick. Before the evening, they encamped on the Doon Hill, an eminence of four or five hundred feet, about two miles to the south of his position; and they also took care to possess themselves of a pass of peculiar importance, called the Peaths, by which lay the only road from Dunbar to Berwick.

To give the reader a more distinct idea of the relative positions of the two armies, it may be mentioned, that the town of Dunbar, where Cromwell was quartered, lies at the eastern extremity of a tract of level country, extending along the south shore of the frith of Forth; having the sea on one side, the level country on the other, the Lammermuir Hills on a third, and on the fourth, a strip of low country, along which proceeds the road to Berwick. When the Scottish army lay on Doon Hill, which is the last of the Lammermuir range in that direction, they had Cromwell fairly between

them and the sea, and it was impossible for him to attempt an escape by the low country on either hand, without the risk of being fallen upon and destroyed, before he reached a position of security, or could find room to turn himself. To use a phrase of his enemies, he was completely *weired*, or pent, into a corner; and his only hope lay in his being able to fortify himself in his position, so as to stand at bay till relieved.

The only question which then remained for consideration in the Scottish army, was, what they should do with the enemy;—whether fall upon him and destroy him by the sword, or permit him to languish in the town, till he should deliver himself up into their hands. The clergy, who attended the camp in great numbers, with arms in their hands, and composed an influential portion of the committee by which the army was managed, called out in the fervour of their enthusiasm, that they should lose no time to give the *coup de grace* to the accursed army of the Sectaries; and they were countenanced in their opinion by Warriston, who was, perhaps, the most influential layman in the council.²⁴ Leslie, on the other hand, along with his officers, contended that, by lying where they were, all was sure; but that there was great hazard in attacking a band of gallant men under such desperate circumstances. It was the opinion of this general, indeed, that rather than press too severely upon the enemy, and provoke him to a struggle for life or liberty, it would be better to make way for him, “even with a bridge of gold,” and permit his free departure into England.²⁵ It was proposed in the council, that they should offer him permission to return to his own country, on the condition of leaving only his ordnance and ammunition.²⁶ The

impetuosity of the clergy, however, was destined to prevail, and before the evening of Monday, the 2d of September, it was determined that the Scottish army should draw down from the hill where it was placed, and lie in readiness to attack the enemy early next morning.

Cromwell spent this day in a state of mind which it would have been difficult even for himself to describe. At no point or period of his career had he ever been so near losing the whole advantages which his ambition had gained for him, over his fellow men. His prospects, in whatever direction he turned himself, were of the gloomiest order. Should he remain at Dunbar, even supposing that he could hold out the town against the Scots, his enemies in England would be sure to give him up for lost, and, taking advantage of his helpless circumstances, would again setup either the Cavalier or the Presbyterian interest; so that, should he eventually break through his present hedge of foes, and return to England, he would, in all probability, find the whole power of the country serried against him. Should he break through the Scots, even with his present force, he was sure to be called to a dreadful reckoning by his enemies, for the evil issue of his expedition. In case of the Scots overpowering and taking him captive, he was, of course, a lost man for ever: the Presbyterian interest, in that case, would once more assume an ascendancy, and Charles the Second would be restored, with a limited prerogative, to the splendid seat which *he* had aimed at filling.

Such, nevertheless, was the ardent genius of Cromwell, that it does not appear he ever altogether despaired, during this dreadful day. He had shipped off all his sick men at Dunbar, and re-

duced his army to about twelve thousand. He was holding himself in readiness to put the remainder of his foot on board his transports, and to seize some opportunity of dashing, with his invincible bands of horse, through the lines of the enemy. Some lucky moment, he flattered himself, some especial act of providence, would still occur, to enable him to escape the snare that was set for him. "We were sensible," he afterwards declared, "of our disadvantages, and experienced some weakness of flesh. Because of their numbers, because of their advantages, because of their confidence, because of our weakness, because of our strait, we knew we were in the mount; yet, having support from the Lord himself, for our poor weak faith, we trusted that, in the mount, the Lord would be seen to find out a way of deliverance and salvation for us. We still had our consolations and our hopes."²⁷

After spending an anxious forenoon in shipping off his sick, and in revolving all the possibilities of his situation, he called his principal officers together, and issued instructions to the army, that the whole should "seek the Lord;" meaning that, by a direct and simultaneous appeal to the Almighty, they should endeavour to discover his intentions regarding their fate. When their religious exercises had been concluded, he rose up, assumed his wonted serenity of manner and countenance, and, informing those about him, that he had felt a peculiar satisfaction and enlargement of heart during his prayer, bade "them all take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them."²⁸ It was at the Earl of Roxburghe's house of Braxmouth, about a mile to the east of Dunbar, that he made this declaration. Immediately afterwards,

taking a walk in the gardens round the house, in order to obtain a last survey of the enemy for the evening,²⁹ he distinctly perceived them, through his perspective glass, begin their fatal movement down the face of the hill, with the view, as he rightly anticipated, of giving him battle in the morning. Almost beside himself with joy, he exclaimed, in the accents of a sorcerer who for the first time sees his incantations attended with effect : " The Lord hath delivered them into our hands ! they are coming down to us !"³⁰

It was even as Cromwell supposed. Overcome by the foolish enthusiasm of the clergy, Leslie was now drawing down his troops from their masterly position on Doon Hill, towards a sloping piece of ground to the south-east of the English camp. They were busied all night in making the descent ; and it was found, at the first blush of dawn on Tuesday morning, that, while their lines extended upwards of a mile along the whole front of the enemy, they had clustered in great numbers at their right wing, apparently in the apprehension that Cromwell might assail that point, for the purpose of forcing a way to England. The Scottish leaders had not taken it into account that their men, by reason of their constant motion during the night, were prevented from enjoying that repose which is so necessary for soldiers before action ; nor had they taken care, in their confidence of superior strength, to preserve their matches from the rain which fell upon them as they were descending the hill. Cromwell's men were, on the other hand, inspirited by the acceptance which they were persuaded their prayers had met with ; they were refreshed by a night of secure and comfort-

able sleep in their quarters; and they had, at the particular request of Cromwell, taken the utmost care of their matches; which last was a circumstance of primary importance in the military tactics of that age.

The numbers of the Scots in the action about to ensue, were nearly twenty-seven thousand. The English did not amount to twelve thousand. The *word* of the day in the Scottish army was their favourite one, "The Covenant." The parole of the English army was "The Lord of Hosts."³¹ The signal of distinction for the English soldiers, was "that they were to have no white about them."³²

During the night, Cromwell had resolved to attack the right wing of the Scots, which intervened between him and his own country; and both the point of attack and the arrangements which he made for it, show that he only aimed at an escape from Scotland. He appointed six regiments of horse, and three regiments and a half of foot, to go to the front, under the charge of Lambert, Monk, and other experienced officers; while the brigades of Pride and Overton, and the remaining two regiments of horse, should bring up the cannon and the rear.

The attack took place between five and six in the morning, ere the sun had yet risen to dispel the thick, cold mists, which usually encumber the low grounds in Scotland during the nights of September. The light as yet only served to give to the English troops a few imperfect glimpses of the dark and long-extended lines of the enemy, as they stretched away, in indefinite masses, through the mist, which was now breaking up from the low ground, under the advancing influence of morn.

The Scots were still moving down the hill; and they had not been put into proper order when the

attack was made. The action commenced at the very eastern extremity of the Scottish lines, where Leslie, as already mentioned, had placed most of his horse, in the apprehension that that would be the point to which Cromwell would direct his chief strength.

For half an hour, the battle was merely an obscure struggle between the horse at the Scottish right flank, and Cromwell's six dragoon regiments, for the possession of a pass. At length, however, as Cromwell's other troops came up, and gradually began to engage the Scottish regiments opposed to them, the fight became more general and extended. The Scottish horsemen, who bore the long lances peculiar to their country,³³ and afterwards took to their swords, fought with great resolution; and there were on that side two regiments of foot, which stood their ground against the enemy's horse till they were almost all cut to pieces in their ranks.³⁴ But, as the nature of the ground did not permit other regiments to come up to their relief, and as the enemy, though less numerous on the whole, had more men actually engaged, it was soon seen that the fight was not equal. Cromwell, though more than once beat back, returned and returned to the charge, with that persevering solicitation of fortune, which is observed to be so invariably successful in the end. His men, conscious that every thing depended on their own exertions, seconded his wishes, as if they had been part of himself. At length, when the crisis of the contention seemed just on the point of arriving, this wonderful man turned it in his own favour, by one of those strokes of genius which distinguished him so peculiarly as a general, and as a leader of his fellow-men. The sun

happening at the lucky moment to rise full and broad out of the sea behind him, he exclaimed, with a poet's feeling, as he observed its rays for the first time dazzle the eyes of the enemy, "Now, now let God arise, and his enemies shall be scattered!"³⁵ An exclamation so appropriate to the excitement of the occasion, and which expressed so strong a conviction on his own part of the presence and favour of the God of Battles, had an instantaneous effect upon his men. Fully inspired with the idea that the Deity had, both on the preceding evening, and at this moment, spoken his favour through their general, they fell upon the enemy with an impetuosity which nothing could withstand. The Scottish regiments, from that moment, to use another emphatic phrase of Cromwell, became as stubble to their swords.

A flight then ensued, ten times more disastrous to the Scots than the battle could possibly have been, though they had continued to fight till sunset. The horse regiments, as they turned to fly from the face of the enemy, broke and routed the foot regiments which stood behind them. Once effectually disordered, it was impossible to turn these men, however fresh, to the least account. It was in vain that their ministers stood amongst them, assuring them of victory, and imploring them to continue fighting. Struck with despair at the moment they saw the horse give way, they immediately threw away their arms, and fled from the field. The sun, at his rising, had shone full in the faces of seven and twenty thousand confident men, who, in their unity of purpose and splendour of array, formed an object, so to speak, of the most terrible respectability. Three minutes afterwards, his long level rays fell upon the backs of a con-

fused and dismayed rabble, which had in a moment renounced its late noble character and power, and become a thing the most helpless and contemptible that could be conceived. It almost appeared to the eyes of their enemies, that the sun, or the divinity which he might be supposed to represent, had obeyed the daring appeal of Cromwell, and occasioned the sudden and miraculous change which they now saw before them.

In the flight which ensued, the English dragoons, to use the cruel language of Cromwell's own dispatches, *had the execution and killing of the Scottish foot* for nearly fourteen miles. Whatever feelings of rancour the English had previously entertained for the Scots, whether on the abstract score of their religious differences, or on the more immediate and exciting account of the taunts with which the Scots had treated them in their late day of distress,³⁶ were now amply revenged upon the unhappy soldiers of the Covenant; three thousand of whom, at a moderate calculation, were soon stretched lifeless upon the harvest fields in the direction of Edinburgh, while at least ten thousand wounded and dejected wretches remained prisoners on the field of battle. An extraordinary degree of virulence seems, indeed, to have characterised this terrible chase. In the words of Clarendon, "no quarter was given till the pursuers were weary of killing." Peculiar severity was exercised upon the clergymen who composed so prominent a body in the Scottish army. Many of them were cut down while in the very act of bawling out assurances of victory to their soldiers; others were designedly slashed by the Sectarian dragoons in the face, with the view of disfiguring them.

The people resident on the tract of country over which the chase extended, have many traditional anecdotes, to show the persevering rancour with which the English dragoons pursued their bloody work. One of them is of so striking and affecting a nature, as to be perhaps worthy of relation. The Laird of Lawhouses, a small estate about seven miles westward from Dunbar, was at the battle, perhaps as much from affection to the royal cause as to that of the Covenant. He fled across the Tyne, towards his own house, and he had just reached that place, which he calculated would be one of refuge, and was on the point of entering its open door-way, when a dragoon who had followed hard behind him, alighted from his horse, and, steadying his carabine along the trunk of a large tree, which is still pointed out, shot the unfortunate gentleman dead upon his own threshold.

Many other men of distinction fell on this dreadful day; in particular, Winram, Laird of Libberton, one of the Committee of Estates, and a gentleman who had figured more or less prominently in all the transactions of the last twelve years; Sir Robert Scott, Sir William Douglas of Kirkness,³⁷ and Sir John Haldane of Gleneagles. Two generations of the ancient family of Home of Wedderburn were killed together; that is to say, both the *Laird* and the *Young Laird*, (his son,) one of whom was a colonel and the other a lieutenant-colonel. There were in all eight colonels killed, being the fourth part of the whole number of colonels present.

Among the ten thousand prisoners taken by Cromwell, were twelve lieutenant-colonels, six majors, thirty-seven captains, seventy-five lieute-

nants, seventeen cornets, two quarter-masters, a hundred and ten ensigns, and fifteen sergeants. He also took two hundred stands of colours, and thirty-two pieces of ordnance, together with all their arms, ammunition, tents, and baggage. In opposition to the enormous loss of the Scottish army, Cromwell had only about thirty men killed.

The first of Cromwell's actions after the battle, was to call his men together on the field, and return public thanks to the Almighty for so glorious an instance of his favour. His next care was to provide for the relief of the wounded; and the disposal of the prisoners. Not only did he set all his surgeons to work upon the former, but he permitted their relations to come to the field, with carts, and transport them away to their own homes. Being encumbered with the number of his prisoners, he sent a thousand of such as were wounded, in a compliment, to the Countess of Winton, to be disposed of as she might think proper; and he released four thousand more, chiefly old men and boys, upon their parole. The rest he sent under a guard into England; whither they went, says Whitelocke, "cursing their king and clergy for ensnaring them in misery." A great portion of these unhappy persons afterwards fell victims to a disease which attacked them at Durham, in consequence of eating too freely of raw cabbage. The rest were sold by the English parliament, as slaves, and sent to Barbadoes.

Cromwell spent the next day at Dunbar, in writing letters to the House of Commons, and to his own relations,³⁸ regarding his victory. The parliament was so much overjoyed at the intelligence, as to return him a public vote of thanks, and to order that all the colours he had taken

might be hung up beside those taken two years before at Preston, in Westminster Hall. They also ordered medals, with suitable devices, to be distributed among the common soldiers, in token of their approbation and gratitude.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONCLUSION.

———"Grievous has the expiation been."

HOMER.

THE wreck of the Scottish army, which, as might be supposed, chiefly consisted of horse, fell back upon Stirling, without attempting to defend Edinburgh, which Cromwell therefore obtained possession of, without striking another blow. Milton, in a panegyric which he wrote upon the republican general, says, that the fame of his victory at Dunbar, did more for him than the victory itself, as thunder is attended with more fatal effect, in the terror which it produces, than what is even experienced from the vivid and immediate lightning.¹ A week, indeed, had not elapsed after "the Tyesday's chase"—for so the battle was called by the Scots—before he had made himself master of all that valuable part of Scotland which lies to the east and south of Falkirk, including Leith and the capital, and only excepting Edinburgh castle.

Severe, however, as the blow might be considered to the country, it was by no means a matter of universal lament in Scotland. The destroyed army had consisted almost exclusively of the rigid Pres-

byterians, who proposed to admit Charles to his government with the heavy restrictions, civil and ecclesiastical, which have been described. By their destruction, so long as the Engagers and loyalists remained, Charles was rather relieved from thralldom than deprived of support. Accordingly, both he and the loyalists secretly rejoiced in the affair. They rightly anticipated, that, to defend the country from Cromwell, and to push the Royal and the Covenant interests, recourse must be had to them. By that means, he and his friends would naturally become possessed of the chief power of the country ; and, in the event of a triumph over Cromwell, would be able to mould the proposed reformation of the British monarchy to their own will.

Cromwell would have pushed his conquest to Stirling, and expelled the members of government who resided there ; but he was prevented by the weather, and by the strength of their position. He had to content himself, during what remained of the season, with laying siege to Edinburgh castle. Here, a most amusing affair took place. The ministers of the district had, after the battle of Dunbar, taken refuge in this castle. Cromwell, with a generous and liberal wish to provide for the instruction of the people, sent up a simple note to the Governor, engaging to protect his clerical guests, provided that they would come out and resume their ordinary duties. They returned a wordy answer, through the Governor, professing a non-reliance upon his promise, and farther treating him and his religious party with much abusive language. Cromwell received this letter with all the surprise which men generally feel, when an intended act of kindness is anticipated by a rude refusal. It was the policy, however, of his consti-

tments, and it seems to have been consistent with his own wishes, to endeavour by all possible means to conciliate and reduce the unreasonable spirit which had now got into the Scottish Presbyterians ; and he thought proper, in a reply at greater length, which he wrote with his own hand, to argue the point with them, and renew his proffer. A controversy then took place between the two parties, which scarcely any person now living could read without a feeling of admiration for the fair and straight-forward good sense of Cromwell, and of pity for the mean and crooked arguments of his adversaries. But the most remarkable point about the whole affair, was the attempt which each party made to convince the other, that it was " the favoured of the Lord"—the Israel of modern times. Cromwell, with a spirit of malicious wagghery, asked them whether the Lord had not declared against them, by the issue which he had seen fit to give to the late battle. They answered by pretending that that was only a trial of their faith : the Lord, they said, had thought proper to hide his face from the sons of Jacob for a time. Cromwell, however, reminded them of some expressions they had used before the battle, by which it appeared, that they were prepared to consider a victory on their part, as an unequivocal indication of Almighty favour ; and he demanded, with great reason, that they should now esteem their defeat as a proof of the reverse. A regular appeal had been made by the two contending parties to the Almighty, for the purpose of discovering which he was inclined to approve ; and he, by granting victory to the Independents, had fairly given the world to understand, that they were henceforth his chosen people.

To say the truth, these unhappy enthusiasts were wonderfully puzzled to account for their late misfortune. Some of them, in their pulpits, did not scruple to inform the divinity whom they thought they worshipped, that it was little to them to lose their lives and estates; but they really could not conceive how he permitted *himself to lose so much*, by the destruction of "his elect and chosen flock."² At last, after a good deal of beating about for reasons, they found an excellent one in the sins of the king; and him, of course, they immediately made a scape-goat, for the vindication of his whole people. At a fast which they held throughout those parts of the kingdom still in their power, they unscrupulously ascribed their defeat to the indignation of the Deity, at their complying with one who, in addition to his other sins, and those of his relations, dead and alive, had been led into the Covenanted work, not by real good-will or godliness, but by mere lust for an earthly crown. One of the most infuriate of the sect—Mr Guthry of Stirling—openly asserted from the pulpit, that, "even although the king's own heart were as upright as that of King David, God would no more pardon the sins of his father's house for his sake, than he did the sins of the house of Judah, on account of the goodness of the holy Josiah." It is, indeed, insinuated by an English gentleman who attended the court at this period,³ that, if these men had now got their will, they would willingly have surrendered the king to Cromwell, as "the cursed thing that troubled the peace of Israel." It is at least a certain fact, that the party now began to have a leaning towards the invader; finding, it would appear, greater affinity in his political and religious views to their own, than they found in those which

the king was beginning to manifest. When the question was agitated in the Committee of Estates at Stirling, whether the Royalists should now be admitted to the army, Sir John Chiesly, an enthusiast of the deepest dye, started from his seat, clapped his hand upon his sword, and, protesting that he would rather join with Cromwell than with them, left the house in a transport of indignation.

It was now, however, seen by the sensible part of the nation, that the country could be no longer defended upon the narrow principles of these unworldly zealots. There was also reason to apprehend that, if the malignants were not presently admitted, they would seize the power which the rigid party withheld. Since the destruction of the sacred army at Dunbar, the malignants had become decidedly the strongest party in the kingdom ; and it almost appeared that, in order to secure the government, they only required to make a motion towards its seat and its symbols.

Charles precipitated the conclusion by a singular personal enterprise, which is known in Scottish history by the epithet of " the Start." In consequence of an arrangement with some of the northern cavaliers, he left Perth on the 4th of October, without a single attendant, and riding with great speed, reached an appointed place of rendezvous in the braes of Angus, early next day. There he was disappointed to find that, owing to a mistake as to the day, none of his friends were assembled. He spent the night in a wretched hut, attended by only a few Highlanders, and next morning he was overtaken by a troop of the Covenanting horse, the leader of which solicited him to return. He consented to do so, and he arrived at Perth on the se-

cond evening after he had left it. The insurrection contemplated by the loyalists was thus prevented ; but the Presbyterians were, nevertheless, impressed with so strong a notion of their danger, that they saw fit, at once to admit him to their councils, and the cavaliers into their army ; only requiring a subscription of the Covenant as a qualification. For the same reason, they caused him to be crowned at Scone, January 1, 1651 ; before which period, Cromwell had succeeded in reducing Edinburgh castle.

This revolution, so favourable to the king, was achieved by what would now be called a moderate party of the church, and was bitterly, though ineffectually, opposed by one of a more infuriate character. The former party, on account of their having, in technical language, *resolved* upon the measure, were termed *Resolutioners* ; the latter, from their protesting against it, were called *Protesters* ; and these two names, for many years, distinguished the opposite religious interests of the kingdom. The protesters fairly seceded from any concern in public affairs. They endeavoured to erect themselves into a distinct army, under Strachan, the officer who overthrew Montrose ; and for some time they paraded through the southwest province of the country, professing to acknowledge no interests but those of Christ and the nation. At length, having imprudently fallen upon a party of Cromwell's dragoons, at Hamilton, they were worsted to such a degree, as never again to make an appearance on the field. It is somewhat remarkable, and might almost be held as justifying Cromwell's interpretation of the decrees of Providence, that this party were almost the only sufferers by the war which they themselves had contri-

buted so materially, by their fantastic enthusiasm, to bring into the country. It is remarked by a contemporary historian, that, "at Musselburgh, Dunbar, and Hamilton, the honest men, some how or other, got all the saddest blows."⁴

During the winter, the two armies lay inactive, Cromwell at Edinburgh and Linlithgow, and the king at Stirling. There was still an external reverence for the Covenant maintained in the royal camp. Yet the sentiment of malignancy seems to have been also very predominant. Whitelocke, for instance, gravely records, as a proof of the *rampancy* of a cavalier spirit, that one of the Scottish colonels had been heard to say, that he hoped to see the day when their colours, instead of the watch-words they had hitherto borne, would be adorned with the inscription, more suitable to his views in taking up arms, "For tobacco, strong waters, and ——!"

No active proceedings took place till the summer was considerably advanced. At length, after Cromwell had used every means to tempt the Scottish army from its entrenchments at the Torwood, he resolved upon the strange expedient of crossing over the Forth at Queensferry, and falling between Charles and the country from which he drew his supplies. To meet a body of about four thousand, which he threw into Fife, the Scots dispatched a rather superior force, under the charge of Sir John Brown; and a collision took place at Inverkeithing, in the neighbourhood of the point where the English had landed. The Scots, for a long time, fought with great resolution; the Highland portion of their party displaying, what might be considered, an extraordinary degree of courage even for them. Yet all was unavailing against the steady disci-

plined valour of the republican soldiers. Two thousand of the Scots were killed ; six hundred taken prisoners, including their commander ; and, amidst the spoils of the field, were about sixty stands of colours. Cromwell's party immediately posted on to Perth, which surrendered to them upon summons ; and thus he had by one blow destroyed the value of the king's position at the Torwood.

Charles, however, took at this juncture a step still more bold and decisive than his opponent's, and which seemed, at first sight, calculated, in a great measure, to neutralize his success. Leaving him to enjoy the fruits of his victory at Perth, the young king raised the Scottish army from its position, and led it forward into England, which was now, by reason of Cromwell's absence, quite unprotected. Cromwell only learned what had taken place a day after the army had proceeded on its enterprise. He immediately dispatched a message to quiet the alarms of his own parliament, then sent off Lambert with a large body of horse to harass the rear of the Scottish army ; and, lastly, followed himself, with all the strength he could muster, except a small body which he left with General Monk, to keep the country quiet behind him. Charles, who was now generalissimo of the army, with the Duke of Hamilton and David Leslie under him, marched on, with astonishing rapidity, endeavouring everywhere to rouse the English cavaliers and Presbyterians.

The eyes of all men were turned with unusual interest upon this expedition, the result of which was for some time very uncertain. Never, at any former period of the war, had the restoration of monarchy been so near a consummation ; never had the republicans been so much at fault. Yet it

proved, after all, that the loyalists were not yet sufficiently consistent or united in spirit to achieve their purpose. As they marched through England, the Scots deserted in great numbers to regain their native country, while the English were everywhere prevented from joining by the vigorous measures adopted by the parliament. After a march of about a fortnight, they were obliged to halt for refreshment at the city of Worcester ; and Cromwell thus got time to overtake them. With an army of fifteen thousand men, the republican general did not hesitate a moment to fall upon the Scots, who were now diminished from eighteen to eleven thousand. It was the third of September, the anniversary of the battle of Dunbar ; and Cromwell, to inspire his men, had given out the same word, and the same signal, as on that auspicious occasion. For some time the royal army defended their entrenchments with great spirit and fortitude. Cromwell, according to his own confession, had never found so vigorous a resistance ; but the multitude of the assailants, which enabled them to attack the town on more points than one, proved in the end irresistible. The Scottish horse eventually fled in the greatest disorder, carrying the king along with them ; and the foot had then only the alternative of surrendering or being cut down. Two thousand of the vanquished army were slain, six thousand taken, and an immense quantity of valuable stores and baggage fell into the hands of Cromwell. The Duke of Hamilton was mortally wounded ; the Earl of Lauderdale, and many other noblemen, were among the prisoners ; and very few of even the common soldiery returned to tell the tale in their own country. Charles himself, after a series of adventures and

escapes which only find a parallel in those experienced by his grand-nephew in 1746, fortunately got safe over to Holland.

Cromwell, having thus successively destroyed the military power of the two parties into which Scotland was divided, found no longer any difficulty in reducing the country under the obedience of the English parliament. His delegate, Monk, experienced not the least resistance throughout the whole of the Lowland district, except at Dundee, which held out for some time, in the hope of being relieved. This town being taken after a short siege, Monk, in obedience to the orders of Cromwell, and to strike terror into the other towns, put the garrison and a great number of the inhabitants to the sword. It was only in the Highlands that he found any considerable resistance. The Marquis of Argyle, who had refused to accompany Charles in his invasion of England, held out a bold front at Inverary, where he had assembled not only his own clansmen, but also some political and religious allies. Upon different views, the most of the other Highland chiefs refused to yield to the English. Nor did it seem probable, when the nature of their country was considered, that they would be easily suppressed. Argyle, however, was at length surprised at Inverary. Some of the northern loyalists at the same time capitulated, and others permitted themselves to be overawed. It is a somewhat curious fact, that many of both the cavalier and presbyterian parties in Scotland yielded to Cromwell with a kind of good-will, arising from the notion, that by doing so they were helping to distress each other.

Scotland then became a mere province of England. The parliament mocked it for some time

with proposals for a federal union, and even affected to receive commissioners from its counties and burghs, to sit with themselves at Westminster ; but to all intents and purposes it was used as a conquered country. It was provided with judges from England, for the management of its courts of justice. Fortunately, the liberal views of the Independents as to religious matters permitted them to tolerate the church-government and code of faith, to which the Scots were so warmly attached. It was only seen fit to deprive the Church of all that exorbitant external power, which it had of late years arrogated to itself.

These measures, hard as they appear, were not merely dictated by a desire on the part of Cromwell to rule over Scotland. It would seem that there was an absolute necessity for them. The different parties into which the nation was divided, were now so virulent against each other, and were so nearly balanced in point of power, that, if left to govern themselves, they would have been immediately precipitated into an intestine war, fatal to themselves and dangerous to England. To give an idea of the spirit of animosity which pervaded the people, it may be mentioned, that at the first session of the English judges, no fewer than four hundred cases were laid before them, chiefly arising out of private quarrels. Some of these cases referred to facts which had taken place twenty years before, and for which there was no better proof than a forced confession before the Kirk ! It is also remarkable, that many of the cases were for witchcraft. Sixty persons were accused of that imaginary crime in one day. The judges found so much malice in the charges, and so little proof to support them, that they dismissed the whole. Af-

terwards, however, the people themselves, thus disappointed of vengeance in a legal way, subjected the unfortunate objects of their resentment to the most inhuman torments, insomuch as to produce death in several cases.⁵

There was precisely the same necessity for taking the management of religion out of the hands of the natives. The resolutioners and protesters—in other words, those who were fierce for moderation, and those who were fierce for extravagance—were now so violently inflamed against each other, as to be a perfect scandal to the very name of religion. It may seem strange, yet it is perfectly true, that they now scarcely ever met without ending their controversy by an appeal to fists. The people themselves, whom they had so long wrought upon, began at length to become disgusted with their violence. In June 1652, on their attempting to hold a meeting at Dalkeith, “the women of the town,” says the contemporary historian last quoted, rose tumultuously, and caused them to dissolve. Nearly about the same time, the Synod of Perth, having met at that ancient city, to take the people to task for some symptoms of a similar feeling, “the wives” came up to the church, bearing good clubs in their hands; when, a clergyman being sent out to threaten them with excommunication if they did not disperse, they seized and beat him most unmercifully. They then entered the church, proceeded to administer the same chastisement to his brethren; and finally, they put the whole Synod to rout. So terrified were the ministers by this affray, that one of them, meeting a soldier a little way out of town, fell down on his knees before him, and implored his mercy, every person appearing, to his affright-

ed imagination, an enemy prepared to destroy him. The rest of the members, when they had got to a safe distance, turned round, and pronounced the town, and especially its women, accursed unto all time. In 1637, the same gentlemen had declared the female sex above all praise for their activity in stoning and mobbing the episcopal clergy; but they now found that a bad weapon, ill employed, may sometimes do more harm to him who uses it, than to those against whom it is directed.

At length, Cromwell resolved to put a stop to these disgraceful scenes by utterly depriving the clergy of all conventional power. In July 1653, the very month when he dissolved the English Parliament, he also dissolved the Scottish General Assembly. There was something extremely melancholy in this affair; and yet, perhaps, there are many persons who will only consider it ridiculous. The assembly met at Edinburgh; and, after two sermons by Dickson and Douglas, proceeded to its usual place of session. Scarcely had it commenced business, when Lieutenant-colonel Cottrel beset the house with a company of horse and another of foot, and, entering in person, demanded to know if this assemblage was authorized by the Commonwealth of England. Being answered in the negative, he asked if it had the sanction of the Commander-in-chief of the English forces in Scotland. This also being answered in the negative, he asked if it was permitted by the English commissioners for the execution of justice in Scotland. The moderator then informed the intruder that this was an ecclesiastical body, commissioned by no less an authority than that of Jesus Christ, and meeting for the sole purpose of promoting his interest on earth. Cottrel, however,

who was but ill able to appreciate a commission of so spiritual a nature, immediately mounted a bench, and proclaimed all judicatories unlawful which had not authority from the parliament of England. They sat still; thunderstruck at what appeared so impious an insult of their sacred diploma. But Cottrel soon roused them to a sense of their real situation, by telling them, that, if they did not immediately depart of their own accord, he would order his soldiers to drag them out of the room. When they, accordingly, left the house, he surrounded them with his troops, and led them along the streets of the city, towards the West Port, or gate, a spectacle of pity to the whole population. Having conducted them about a mile out of town, he caused them to gather into a circle around him, and, having environed them with his horse, addressed them in a speech which probably expressed the precise wishes of Cromwell regarding them. He blamed them for their audacity in meeting, as they had done, to disturb, with their dissensions, a country already too much divided by other matters of dispute. He told them to depart from Edinburgh, before eight o'clock next morning, under pain of imprisonment. And he forbade them ever again to meet in a number exceeding three, if they wished to escape the same penalty. Thus did two companies of soldiers, at last break up a body, for whose interests three kingdoms had been agitated for sixteen years with unceasing war, and which had, at various periods throughout that space of time, seemed nearly the most influential judicatory in the whole empire.

Henceforth, and ever till the restoration of King Charles II. in 1660, Scotland remained in the tranquil condition of an appanage to England,

kept in check by about ten thousand men, who were dispersed over the country in forts and stations, and in all matters yielding obedience to the great soldier who had subdued it. Its peace was only disturbed, during that period, by an insurrection of the royalists in the Highlands, under the Earl of Glencairn and General Middleton, which was suppressed almost without bloodshed. The country was never in a more prosperous, more peaceful, or more happy condition, than during these few years of bondage. Its manners and manufactures were improved by the English soldiery; its wealth was increased by the large sums (about L.140,000 annually) which were sent from England to pay the army; and the people found a degree of humane justice in the English judges, and even in the military commanders, which they had never experienced under their former feudal masters, or under their tyrannical priesthood. It almost appeared from this period of its history, that Scotland had never needed any thing to render it a happy country, but a government sufficiently strong to repress the religious and political factions by which it was torn; in other words, it only required to be deprived of the power of injuring itself.

NOTES

TO

VOLUME SECOND.

CHAP. I.—RAVAGE OF ARGOYLE, AND BATTLE OF INVERLOCHY.

¹ Red Book of Clanranald, MS. p. 28.

² Red Book of Clanranald, MS. p. 29.

³ Montrose Redivivus, 52.

⁴ Guthry, on the contrary, remarks that no human blood was shed; "all the people," he satirically adds, "following the example of their lord, and flying also."—*Memoirs*, 174.

⁵ Lieutenant-General Baillie's Narrative, Principal Baillie's Letters, ii. 255.

During his residence at Killcummin (now Fort-Augustus,) Montrose drew up a Bond of Association in favour of the royal cause, to which all his principal adherents attached their names, either at the time or afterwards. It was a counterpart of the Covenant, to which it was designed as an antidote. The following copy of the original, in the archives of his Grace the Duke of Montrose, is derived more immediately from the copy printed in the "Historical and Genealogical Account of the Family of MacDonald, Edinburgh, 1819;" while the signatures are added from another copy in the possession of a friend.

"Ane Band of unione amongst all his majesties faithful subjects, as also of mutuall assistance and defence.

"Whereas his sacred majesty, for the vindication of his own honour and just authority, and the happiness and recovery of his thrall'd and oppressed subjects, has been, from all reason and necessitie, constrained to owne himself and their miseries, by declaring by open proclamation the

horrid crimes of the rebellious faction that now so raigeth within the kingdom, to be most wicked and traiterous, as they are most unjust and unnatural, willing and requiring all his majesty's faithful subjects to yield by no means their obedience thereto, but, on the contrary, to join themselves with Prince Maurice, his majesty's nephew, and Captain-General ower the whole kingdome, or James Marquis of Montrose, his majestie's Lieutennent-Generall of the same, and to use all their best and most vigorous opposition against the actors and instruments of all these abominable and monstrous crimes : Witt ye us, therfor, under-subscryuers, out of the deep sense of our dentie to God, our consciences, king, and native country, yea to all laws and justice divine and humane, by these presents, to bind and oblige ourselves, like as we are by God and nature tyed, with our livis, fortunes, and estates, to stand to the maintenance of the honour and authorities of our sacred and native Generall, contrary to this present perverse and infamous factione of desperate Rebells, now in force against him ; and that we shall, upon all occasions, according as we are required by his majesty, or any having his power, or as the opportunity shall offer, be ever ready to use all our best and most active endeavours for that effect ; as also each and every one of us do faithfully promise mutuallie to assist one another herein, as we shall be desired, or the occasion require. All which, before God and his Angells, we most solemnlie and upon our consciences and just sense, voluntarlie and sincerelie vowe and promeis firmly to adhere to and never to swerve from, as we would be reputed famous Men and Christians, and expect the blessing of Almighty God in this life, and his eternall happiness hereafter. In witness whereof, we have subscryuit thir presents at Killiwherme, (*sic in MS.*) the penult dayis of January, the year of God, and thousand sex hundreth and fourtie-fyve yeirs.

“ MONTROSE

Airly

Seaforth (who did not join till April 1646.)

Grahame (Lord, eldest son of Montrose, and who died in March following at the Bog of Gicht, now Gordon Castle.)

Lo. Gordon (Lodovick 3d son of the Marquis of Huntly, and afterward Marquis.)

Thom. Ogilvy (Sir Thomas, killed at Inverlochry, younger son of the Earl of Airlie.)

- L. M'Lean of Dowart (Sir Lauchlan, Baronet.)
 J. Macronald of Eyellandtirrem, (fiar of Moydart, and Captain of Clanronnald, father of Donald Moydartach.)
 E. M'Donald apirand of Glengerry (Eneas, afterward, by creation, Lord MacDonald and Arros. He was then grandson of Glengarrie.)
 Alexander MacDonnell (Col Kitoch's son, and major-general in the expedition.)
 Duncane Steuart fiar of Appin
 J. Grant of Moyne
 Donald Camroune tutor of Lochiel (viz of Ewan, afterwards Sir Ewan.)
 Nat. Gordon (Colonel, surnamed *Caoch*.)
 J. Gordon of Knokepic
 Donald Robertson tutor of Strowan
 D. M'Pheirson (Colonel Donald, killed at Aberdeen in 1645.)
 P. Campbell of Edinample (younger brother of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenurquhy, an active partizan on the other side.)
 P. Grene
 Johane Drummond (Sir, of Logiealmond, younger son of Earl of Perth.)
 J. Grame, (John, G. of Balgowan, or of Duchray, or of Craigie, or of Catter, or of Gartur ; all of whom were in Montrose's army. Graham of Gartur was Montrose's Commissary.)
 James Grant of Freuquhy (or Laird of Grant.)
 Robert Gordone
 D. Farcharson
 J. Kynnard of Coulbyne
 Wm. Dow of Orchardwall
 Donald Macdonald of Ceippec [Keppoch] (commonly called Donald Glas M'Ronnald.)
 A. Gordon, of Fyvie younger
 J. Martine of Kempkairne
 R. Gordone (Sir Robert G. of Gordonstoun Baronet, younger son of Earl of Sutherland, did not declare till 1646.)
 P. Gordonne of Kirkhill
 Johne Innes of Leuthars
 T. Mowat of Balquhal (killed at Alford, 2nd July, 1645.)
 T. " " " " " " " " " " " "

Murich M'Leane of Lochbuy

R. M'Gwir of Mountdow (Drumdown.)

F. Hay (Colonel Francis, brother, as would seem, or Wm. Hay of Dalgety, who also was engaged in the royal cause.)

J. Robertson fiar of Downie

L. M'Phersone

G. Innes younger of Leuthars

J. Gordon of Letterfurey

Wm. Gordon of Feyvie

Alexander Dunbar of Keilboik [Kilboyak.]

J. Abercromby

W. Innes (Captain W. Innes of the Guards, 3d son of Sir Robert Innes of that ilk.)

T. M'Kenzie of Pluscardine (Sir Thomas, brother of the Earl of Seaforth, seems not to have joined before April 1646.)

Hugh Innes

J. Gordon of Carnbarrow

Patrick M'Gregor of that ilk (surnamed *Caach*.)

William Douglas of Glenbervie (Sir, Baronet.)

Wm. Chisholme fiar of Cromlia, (married a sister of William 9th Earl of Glencairn, now on the opposite side, but who entered into the Engagement 1648, and led a force for Charles II. in 1653-4.)

David Murray of Colquhalyie

J. M. " " " "

6 John, the Lean or Poor.

7 Now Fort-Augustus.

8 Memoirs of the Sutherland family, 522.

9 Wishart's Memoirs, (edit. 1819,) p. 112.

10 Baillie's Letters, ii. 93. A letter from the committee of parliament which accompanied Argyle, was read in the house, at Edinburgh, on the 18th of January, stating that "the marques had gotten a fall and disjointit his shoulder, but he would be weill."—*Balfour's Memorials of State, Works*, iii. 256. As the accident must thus have occurred a few days before the 18th, and must consequently have been at least three weeks old at the time of the battle (February 2,) it is to be supposed that there was more truth in the cavalier report, which ascribed the strange step he took to a desire of escaping the dangers of battle, than in the plea which his friends and himself set forward at the time, by which the whole was attributed to his inability to engage in actual con-

flict: How strange would it now sound, were a general to plead a broken or even a lost arm as a reason for retiring from the head of his troops!

11 His lordship took with him on board the galley, the Lairds of Niddry and Duncrub, Archibald Sydserf, bailie of Edinburgh, and Mr Mungo Law, minister at the same place, who had been deputed by the parliament at Edinburgh to accompany him on this expedition.

12 Remembered by Highland tradition to have been entitled the "Du Ludne."

13 Persons specified in Parliamentary Record, under date of February 11, 1645, as forfaulted "for the invasione of the northe."

"James, Erle of Montrose.

Alex^r. M'Donald, alias Colkittoches Sone.

James, erle of Airlie.

Sr. Thomas, and

Sr. David, Ogilvies, his Sones.

Jon^r. Stewart of Auchannachen.

Donnald Glass M'Ronnald of Keppoche.

David Graham of Gorthie.

Patrik Graham, fiar of Inchbrakie.

Johne M'Colmie.

Donald Ro[ber]tsone, tutor of Strowan.

Alex^r. Ogilvie of Innerquharitie.

John Stewart of Shierglass."

14 Balfour's Memorials, iii. 272.

15 Guthry's Memoirs, 180.

16 Tradition is here confirmed by history.—See Wishart's Memoirs, Spalding's Troubles, &c.

17 The reason of Robertson having called himself a tinker seems to have been, that, as these vagabonds, though a distinct race of people, practised the inferior departments of the business of a blacksmith, *that* was the meanest and most modest word by which he could designate his profession. The descendants of this hero, many of whom live in the Highlands of Athole and Rannoch, are to this day marked out and distinguished from the rest of the vast population of Robertsons inhabiting that district, by the additional name or epithet of "N gow chaird," that is, the family of the tinker smith.

18 To this list of prisoners, which is derived from the minute and generally accurate Spalding, may be added, upon the authority of the Red Book of Clanranald, two other

gentlemen, the young Laird of Caradale, and MacIver of Pinginy Mor.

CHAP. II.—THE RETREAT OF DUNDEE.

¹ Memoirs of the Sutherland Family, 522.

² Spalding, ii. 272.

³ Spalding, ii. 273.

⁴ "There came parties frae the regiments at Inverness, to the place of Elchies, where the Laird of Grant was dwelling, and plundered the samen, and left not the ladies apparel, jewels, and goldsmith work, whereof she had store. Thereafter they plundered the lands of Coxtown, because the Goodman followed the Lord Gordon. They came to Elgin, took the Laird of Pluscardine, and his brother Lossyne, out of that strong house belonging to Pluscardine, had them to Inverness, and kept them there, as they who had come in to Montrose."—*Spalding's Troubles*, ii. 276.

⁵ Laing for a moment disturbs the smooth flow of general speculation, in which his "History" consists, to remark with bitter and peculiar sarcasm upon this circumstance; which, however, is certainly after all a favourable point in Montrose's history. Was it to have been expected that he would spare a house, merely because it was temporarily inhabited by a lady? That he *did* spare it on that account, even for a composition, was certainly a stretch of either gallantry or mercy. To say the least, he was more to be commended for what he did, than the Earl of Finlater was for leaving his wife unprotected in so exposed a situation, which Spalding informs us he had done just before Montrose's approach. In the estimation of an unprejudiced individual, there can be no comparison between the gallantry of Montrose, and the *unmanliness* of Finlater.

⁶ It is worthy of remark, by the way, as tending to the credit of the Scottish Highlanders, that, in none of the minute chroniclers of this period, as Spalding, &c., are they ever mentioned as exciting fear in the country people for either their lives or their property. There are innumerable notices of the inhabitants of towns and cities flying, with their infirm relatives and goods, at hearing of the approach of "*the wild Irish*;" but never once is there any such allusion made to the other great component part of Montrose's army. It would almost appear that our mountaineers conducted themselves throughout this campaign with

all the propriety and discretion, which distinguished them so much as soldiers during the last war.

From Spalding, it appears, that this was further necessary, as some of the Covenanters in the north were already drawing to a head, and beginning to retaliate the outrages which they had lately suffered, upon the lands of the cavaliers. Wishart has erroneously ascribed the withdrawal of the Gordons to voluntary defection.

Guthry, 183.

⁹ In a report which King Charles caused to be drawn up in 1639, regarding the ferries of the north of Scotland, Dundee is termed "the biggest town almost in Scotland."—See the paper at length in Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 128.

¹⁰ Montrose Redivivus, 65.

CHAP. III.—THE BATTLES OF AULDEARN AND ALFORD.

¹ "Montrose and Lord Gordon sat in the steeple of the church of Auldearn; others say they sat on the Castle-hill."—*MS. Hist. Fraser Family*.

² History of the Family of Fraser, MS. [Advocates' Library, Jac. v. 7. 29,] p. 348.

³ He was executed on the road betwixt Inverness and Toam-na-heurich, "standing on his feet," says Spalding, "and not at a post." The chief authorities consulted for this account of the battle of Auldearn, are the Red Book of Clanranald, the Manuscript History of the Fraser Family, Gordon's History of the House of Gordon, Gordon's History of the Family of Sutherland, Spalding's Troubles, Wishart's Memoirs of Montrose, and Guthry's Memoirs.

⁴ Guthry's Memoirs, 186.

⁵ History of England, iv. 533.

⁶ Spalding's Troubles, ii. 299.

⁷ History of the Sutherland Family, 526.

⁸ Spalding, ii. 301.

⁹ Narrative, Baillie's Letters, ii. 266.

¹⁰ Narrative, Baillie's Letters, ii. 266.

¹¹ He complains in his narrative, that the meal, in which consisted his only provision, was all done, and his troopers had not had food for eight-and-forty hours.

¹² Montrose Redivivus, 78.

¹³ Red Book of Clanranald, 43.

11 Wishart's *Memoirs of Montrose*, 8vo, 146.

15 Probably the old technical word for a volley.

16 *History of the Sutherland Family*, 528.

17 Baillie's *Narrative*, *ut supra*.

18 *Red Book of Clanranald*.

19 The writer of the *Statistical Account* of the parish of Alford informs us, that about the middle of the last century, "some men, in casting peats near the village, dug up the body of a man on horseback, and in complete armour, who had been drowned either in the pursuit or flight from the engagement." We are also informed by this writer, that a large stone is still pointed out by the country people as marking the place where Lord Gordon fell.

20 *Hist. Sutherland Family*, 528.

CHAP. IV.—BATTLE OF KILSYTH.

1 Hurry had deserted Baillie before the battle of Alford.

2 *Red Book of Clanranald*.

3 Baillie's *Narrative*, P. Baillie's *Letters*, ii. 269.

4 The following camp order, written by Montrose at Little Dunkeld, and which I have copied from the original, by favour of its proprietor, Mr Stewart of Dalguise, may serve to show that, instead of being the unsparing tyrant he is generally represented, he was on the contrary inspired with an anxious wish to act with considerate moderation in matters affecting the comfort of the people.

"Orders for John Robertson of Inver."

"Whereas we did direct ane speedie order for raising of twa hundred cowes furth of the county of Atholl, and bringing them to the camp for present supplie of the armie, and to the effect that the countrymen may bear ane equall burding, and that they may be proportionally stented, wherthrow everie one may be burdened therewith according to his abilitie: These are therefore to will and command, that, immediatelie after sight hereof, you lay ane proportionate stent of the twa hundred cowes upon everie one within the country, according to his quality and condition, that everie one may have his share of the burding, and that you assure the whole countrymen that at the first convenient occasion they shall have the same repaid to them solemplie. Given at our campe, at Little Dunkeld, the first day of August, 1645.

"MONTROSE."

The principal members of this body were, the Marquis of

Argyle, the Earls of Crawford, Lanark, and Tulliebardine, and the Lords Elcho, Burleigh, and Balcarras.

6 Statistical Account of Scotland, xv. *note*, 159.

7 Guthry's Memoirs, 191.

8 Another instance of this strange reverence for church property on the part of Montrose's troops, is mentioned by Spalding [vol. ii, p. 300,] as occurring at Elgin, after the battle of Auldearn, when they "plundered the Friary of Elgin, but would not burn it, being church lands." It is needless to observe that this respect was applied only to the property of the Roman Catholic or Episcopalian church, and did not at all extend to that of the Presbyterian divines, many of whom, on the contrary, suffered very severely during this dreadful campaign.

9 Guthry, 191.

10 General Baillie's Narrative, Baillie's Letters, ii. 270, 271.

11 Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire, 2d edition, 533.

12 Baillie's Narrative, Baillie's Letters, ii. 273.

13 Red Book of Clanranald, 49.

14 Carte's History of England, iv. 538.

15 Red Book of Clanranald, 50.—Monteith's Troubles, 218.—Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire, 2d edition, 536.

16 Neil MacVourich.

17 Red Book of Clanranald, 51.

18 Montrose Redivivus, 1652. In "a Breviary of the History of the Parliament of England, by Thomas May, Esq." reprinted in a publication entitled, "Select Tracts Relating to the Civil Wars of England," [2 vols. London, 1815,] it is stated that five thousand of the Covenanters were killed at the battle of Kilsyth, and only those escaped whom the wearied conquerors had not strength to kill: "for the cruel Montrose spared none; crying out, They had no need of prisoners." Vol. i. p. 82.

19 1796.

20 Statistical Account of Scotland, xviii. 298; where we are farther told that the names of places adjacent to the field still indicate the extent of the carnage; as Slaughter Knowe, Kill-many Butts, &c.

21 The late Sir John Sinclair of Longformacus, distinguished in his day for an intense feeling of Jacobitism, used to tell, that he had heard the man make this remark, when he himself was a very young man, about the beginning of the last century.

²² During the battle of Kilsyth, a Covenanter rushed up to the Earl of Airly, and earnestly beseeched to be admitted to mercy. The venerable old nobleman kindly granted his request, and desired him, for his own security, to attach himself to his stirrup, and so pass for his servant: But one of the earl's troop immediately after came up, suspected the real quality of the pretended servant, and, only remarking that it was too soon to take prisoners, cut him down with one blow of his sword.—*Episcopalian Tradition*.

²³ There was something very astonishing in the comparison between the numbers lost by the two different parties in this war. It was computed that, in his six victorious battles, Montrose slew at least sixteen thousand men, and lost on his own part little more than a hundred.

CHAP. V.—BATTLE OF PHILIPHAUGH.

¹ Baillie, ii. 159.

² Baillie's Letters, ii. 156.

³ Baillie's Letters, ii. 164.

⁴ The invariable word in old Scottish writings for the plague.

⁵ Guthry, 195.

⁶ The following candid passage from Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton ought surely to be accepted as strong exculpatory evidence, in favour of Montrose, against the imputations which the modern Whig historians have thrown out upon his personal character. "Many outrages had been committed by his Irish and Highland souldiers, which had been resisted by him as much as was possible; but, having no pay to give them, he durst not exercise that severity of martial discipline which had otherwise been necessary. Yet all was imputed to his orders by his enemies who knew him not." P. 276.

⁷ The Earl of Leven, being upon the right wing of the puritan army at Long Marston Moor, was driven out of the field by the impetuous charge of Prince Rupert, and was thirty miles distant, in full retreat, when he was overtaken with the intelligence, (whether agreeable or disagreeable to him it would be hard to say,) that Cromwell and his friend David Lealie had gained a complete victory.

⁸ "The men of Athole and Maclean's men must needs go home, to repair their buildings, which had been burnt; nor could they be diverted from it." Sir Alexander Mac-

donald would needs go to Argyle, to revenge the injuries done to his father and friends ; he carried with him, besides a strong party of Irish to be his life-guard, above 500 Scots Highlanders, whom he had gained to desert the public service and follow him. Montrose dealt most seriously with him to have staid until they had been absolute conquerors, promising them to go thither himself, and be concurring with him in punishing them as they deserved ; and withal told him, that his separating at this time must be the occasion of ruin to them both. But all was to no purpose. He would needs be gone ; alleging, for a reason, Argyle's cruelties against his friends ; that nobleman, he said, having four years ago drawn his father and brother to Inverary upon trust, and then made them prisoners ; since which time, his friends having retired to the isles of Jura and Rachlin for shelter, Argyle had sent the Laird of Ardkinlass and the Captain of Skipness, to the said isles, to murder them, which, he said, they did without mercy, sparing neither women nor children. With such discourses he justified his departure, and would not be hindered."—*Guthry's Memoirs*, 199.

History of the Family of Sutherland, 526.

10 September 4, 1645.

11 Guthry, 200.

12 Letter to Lord Digby, bearing date from the neighbourhood of Kelso, September 10, found on the person of Sir Robert Spottiswood, when he was made prisoner.—*Appendix to Wishart's Memoirs*.

13 Memoirs, 202.

14 Lord Somerville, writer of the curious family memoir, entitled "The Memorie of the Somervilles."

15 Wishart's Memoirs, 8vo ed. 1819, p. 204.

16 Breviary of May's Parliamentary History, *apud* "Select Tracts relating to the Civil Wars of England," i. 82.

17 Gordon's History of the Noble Family of Gordon.

18 Montrose Redivivus, 117.—Monteith, 224.—Guthry, 203.

The last-quoted author maintains that Leslie afterwards attempted to justify his treacherous and cruel conduct, by stating that, on receiving the royalists to quarter, he conceived himself only engaging for the safety of Stuart, the adjutant, who settled the terms of surrender with him. Guthry also mentions that he was urged to order the massacre not by one clergyman, but by all who were present, as also by several of the noblemen who accompanied him.

¹⁹ Baillie gives an oblique testimony to the truth of the fact, by mentioning that, out of a thousand who were buried after the battle, scarcely fifteen were of Leslie's army. It is impossible to suppose that nine hundred and eighty-five persons were killed out of an army so small, and which fought so little, unless there had been a massacre of a great body of prisoners.

²⁰ Montrose Redivivus, 119.

²¹ This fact, so honourable to the king, is acknowledged by Baillie himself, ii. 165.

²² This dreadful fact rests upon the authority of Sir George Mackenzie, in his well-known "Vindication," and of Gordon, in his History of the family of Gordon. Wishart first related the incident; but having unfortunately mistaken the river Tweed for the Avon, some modern historians, among the rest Laing, ignorant of the two above authorities, have presumed to treat it as a falsehood, because, at the time specified, there was not a bridge over the Tweed betwixt Peebles and Berwick. As to the credit of Sir George Mackenzie and Gordon, it may be presumed to be unquestionable, as they were men of honour, lived in the generation immediately subsequent to the event, and could not have ventured to publish an untruth which could be so easily detected.

²³ Baillie, ii. 164.

CHAP. VI.—SUPPRESSION OF MONTROSE'S INSURRECTION.

¹ The following letter, written by Montrose, at the Castle of Braemar, to John Robertson of Inver, Captain of the Castle of Blair, in Athole, [copied from the original, in the possession of Mr Stuart of Dalguise,] betrays the anxiety which he felt, during his southward march at this period, regarding the increase of his army, and, in particular, regarding the return of MacCol to his standard:—

"INVER,—I am glad of this good newes. I am advanced this length, and am, God willing, to be this night in Glenshee; wherefore you will, immediately after sight hereof, convene the whole countrymen, and direct them to meet me towards Dunkeld with all possible diligence. And let me be advertised what you can hear of Sir Alexander M'Donald, or where he is, and of all occurrences in the

country, or what else intelligence you can learn. We rest,
 "MONTROSE."

"Casteltoune of Braymar,

"23 October 1645."

2 Guthry, 208.

3 Balfour's Annals, iii. 311.

4 December 4.—*Balfour's Annals*, iii. 324.

5 This is the official record of the fact in Balfour's Memorials of Parliament. The Whig historians, in their attempts to palliate what is but too clearly an abomination in the page of our history, have caught up the phrase, "conform to the treaty between the two kingdoms," which they seem to consider in itself a sufficient justification of the conduct of parliament. But how the Irish should have become entitled to lose their lives in consequence of any diplomatic arrangements which the self-constituted parliaments of Great Britain chose to make with each other, is to the understanding of the present author perfectly inexplicable.

6 Guthry, 310.—Wishart, 8vo, 238.

7 See the Life of Sir Robert, prefixed to his "Practicks," folio, 1706.

8 January 20, 1646.

9 Guthry, 206.

10 Guthry, who, as a member of the Commission of the Kirk, heard the report which the deputation immediately after brought back from the Committee.

11 Balfour's Annals, iii. 362.

12 He was only nineteen years of age.

13 Whitelocke records an amusing circumstance regarding the methods which the Independents took in the Westminster Assembly for bamboozling the Presbyterians. Whenever these gentlemen pushed the Independents rather hard with quotations from Scripture, their champion, the celebrated Selden, would rise up and say, "Perhaps in your little pocket-bibles, with gilt leaves," (which they would often pull out and read,) "the translation may be thus; but the Greek or the Hebrew signified thus and thus;" which invariably silenced them.

14 Both of these yet form part of the Scottish Confession of Faith. The last is still a regular class-book in all the parochial schools of Scotland.

15 Guthry, 222.

16 Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, 280.

17 Memoirs of Montrose, 8vo, 263, 264, 265.

CHAP. VII.—CONCLUSION OF THE CIVIL WAR.

1 Burnet's *Dukes of Hamilton*, 283.

2 The following extracts from a curious and rare pamphlet, entitled, "The Scots Treacherous Designes Discovered," [London, 1647,] testify the disgust in which the English at this period held their northern neighbours, and are, moreover, worthy of a perusal, as containing some curious notices regarding the modes of living and dressing which then obtained among the Scots.

"As for the pulpit-clutching clergy, they (the people) must needs hate them; for, before the bishops began to rule, there was a toleration of nonsense throughout the kingdom. When now it was not stamping, knocking, and pronouncing dreadful damnation, that procured Mass John a benefice; but now, before he can be trusted with a parsonage, he must be capable of speaking mild sense, for fear of committing violence on the cushion; and this was sufficient to cause the clergy to convene. Then for the plaine, downright, cale-eating Blew-cap, judge you but his just cause of convening; for before bishops came in, then was the bug-breeding Scotch cloth all in fashion, from the mightie Madam in the matted chamber, to Muckell Maggie on the midden; and then could Sandie's wife and three bearnes eaddle their eighteen-pence a weeke at spinning; but now, since the prelates brought in idolatrous lawne sleeves, now it is growne so common, that every gill-fiirt must have a gorget on't, and hold the comely Scotch cloth in disdaine. This reason I suppose sufficient for blue-breeked Jockies to convene.

* * * *

"And there [Ireland, whither the Scots sent an army to assist the king] you complained that your men wanted breeches and shoes. Why? It is not unknown to the world, that most of your nation, till they came into England, did scarce think there were any such things incident to nature; for ye are not only born without breeches and shoes, but bred without them, and being not used to them in your infancy, I wonder how you have impudence to complain for want of them in your age!

* * * *

"A guard he had, [that is the king, when the Scots army kept him at Newcastle,] but no devourers of bull-beef;

for since their first existence they never tasted any flesh beyond tripe and livers ; instead of the honourable badges of York and Lancaster upon their back and breasts, they wore the lively achievements of Aberdeen and Dundee, with legions of puissant lice traversing their scab-bemountained bodies.

(This refers to the dress of the attendants imposed on the king, in place of beef-eaters.)

"On this occasion, the Scotch Leards were at the charge of putting themselves in boots and hats, which thing neither they nor their predecessors ever knew since the time of Judas Iscariot, who was the patriarke of the nation."

³ Such is actually the sum mentioned by Guthry, (*Memoirs*, 212,) as what was charged by England for this article.

⁴ Guthry, 238.

⁵ Saturday, January 18, 1647.

⁶ *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, 311.

⁷ Bishop Guthry's account of the disbanding of the army, and subsequent disposal of the money, is drawn with the satirical pen of a partizan, but is probably near the truth.—*See his Memoirs*.

⁸ *Genealogical History of the Family of Sutherland*, by Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, Bart. Edin. 1813.

⁹ 1646—just as the negotiations for the vendition of the king were drawing to a close.

¹⁰ *History of the Sutherland Family*, 537.

¹¹ Guthry, 242.

¹² Of Neaves, who was nephew to Andrew Cant, and one of the most furious zealots of his time, Wodrow gives the following account :—"This excellent man was the Earl of Lowdon's minister, and very much valued by his lordship, and therefore must be attacked now. He was a person of very considerable parts and bright piety. There is a handsome paraphrase of his upon the Song of Solomon, in Latin verse, printed ; and I have seen some accurate sermons of his upon Christ's temptations, which I wish were printed." He was minister of Newmills, in Ayrshire, the parish in which Lord Loudoun resided.

¹³ See Extract from Sir James Turner's *Manuscript Memoirs*, in 8vo edition of Wishart's *Montrose*, [Edin. 1819], pp. 59, 70, 71, 72, 73.

¹⁴ Extract from Sir James Turner's MS. printed in notes to Kirkton's Secret and True History, p. 45. Sir James is here, I am disposed to suspect, unnecessarily severe in his censure of the Chief of Maclean; as, in all probability, the sixteen Irish were only sacrificed for the purpose of saving a greater number of his own clan, or, more probably still, could not be preserved by any means. It must also be hinted, as a palliation of the cruelty which the clan Campbell displayed in this expedition, that they had suffered most severely from the Irish and other adherents of MacCol; even, it is probable, to the extent of their having had many friends and vassals killed in cold blood by the former at least, if not by the MacCouls and MacDonalds also.

CHAP. VIII.—ASCENDENCY OF THE INDEPENDENTS, AND EXECUTION OF THE KING.

¹ Guthry, 261.

² Balfour's Annales, iii. 395.

³ Baillie, ii. 284.

⁴ Baillie, ii. 295.

⁵ Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, 355.

⁶ Rushworth's Collections, vii. 1193.

⁷ Carte's History of England, iv. 589.

⁸ Guthry, 295.

CHAP. IX.—CHARACTER OF ARGYLE'S GOVERNMENT.

¹ Salmasius, in one of the controversial pamphlets which he wrote against Milton, in favour of the royal cause, says, with quaintness, but also with truth, "*Presbyteriani ligant, Independentes trucidarunt.*"

² It should be mentioned that, on the 6th of February, (namely, on the Monday succeeding the Tuesday on which the king was executed,) Charles the Second was proclaimed King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, at the Cross of Edinburgh. The news of the king's execution was brought to Edinburgh by one Lieutenant Gowan, (an officer in Strachan's troop of horse, and therefore probably of Independent principles,) whom the Tory historians assert to have been present on the scaffold, and who was even said by many to have acted as the royal executioner.—See Father Hay's MS. Adv. Lib. ii. 380.

3 That, even before this period, a degree of insanity had overtaken at least the clergy, seems to be clearly indicated by the following specimen of a sermon preached by one of them, in St Giles's Church, at Edinburgh, 1642. N.B. The minister was a Highlander; and the publication is therefore entitled "The Redshanks' Sermon."—[*London, printed for J. Bates.*]

Text—"Zion is wounded, and I will heal her, saith the Lord."—*Jeremiah, v. 30.*

"I need not trouble you to set forth who is meant by Zion; ye all know very well that it is the poor Church of Scotland, who is now wounded in her head, her heart, in her hands, and in her feet.

"In her head by government, in her heart by doctrine, in her hands by discipline, and in her feet by worship.

"First, she is wounded in her head, when she hath got such a clash as hath made all her braines clatter again, and almost put her beside her five senses.

"First, in her seeing; for she could once have seen as well as any Christian kirk, but now she cannot discern between that and true religion.

"Secondly, she is wounded in her hearing; she could have distinguished the sound of the Gospel and the reign of the Law, but now, since the organs came in, she is grown as deaf as a door-naile.

"Thirdly, she could have smelled as well as any other kirk; but now, having smelled the whore of Babylon, she is so senseless, that, bring the stinking Popish trash under her nose, it will seem as sweet as a rose.

"Fourthly, she could have tasted as well as the best; but now she hath tasted the Pope's idolatry, she cannot relish her former food.

"Lastly, she was so pure and tender, that she would not touch any thing which had been corrupted; but now she hath touched some Popish pitch, and how can she be but defiled? The application follows.

"You see how she hath almost lost her senses; and you that are old men have seen her ministers going in good old short cloaks, with round black velvet caps, which little cloaks turned more souls to God than ever the old gowns did.

"Now I come to tell you how she is wounded in her feet; that is in the worship of the Kirk. The office of the feet

is to travel withal ; and they have made a very hackney of Religion. The Kirk was once a bonny nag, and so pretty, that many thought it pity to ride her ; till at last the Bishops, those rank riding louns, got on her back, and then she trotted so hard that they could hardly at first well ride her ; yet at last they so cross-legged and hopshackled her, that she became a pretty pacing beast, and so easy, that they took great pleasure to ride upon her. But now, what with their riding her up and down between Edinburgh and London, (and one journey to Rome too,) they had given her sic a sore heat, that we have been this twelvemonth walking her up and down to keep her from foundring.

“ Nay, they have not only made a horse, but an ass also, of the Kirk of Scotland, yea an ass worse than Balaam’s was. Balaam, ye ken, was ganging a great way, and the errand, ye ken too, to curse where the Lord had blessed. And the angel first met him in a broad way, and the ass boggled and startled. But Balaam beat the ass, and got by the angel ; and so was our Kirk beaten unreasonably, when Episcopacy came on her ass riding amongst us.

“ Afterwards, Balaam met the angel again in a straiter way, and then the ass startled more than before. Balaam beat her again worse than he did before ; so was our Kirk kickit, and very shrewdly wounded, when the bishops brought in the five articles of Perth amongst us.

“ The third time, the angel met Balaam in so strait a lane, that the ass could not pass by ; and Balaam beat the ass again. But the Lord made the ass to speak, and reprove him for beating her ; and then God opened Balaam’s eyes. So the bishops, being blind as Balaam, have ridden and beaten our Kirk so long, and taken us at such a strait, that we were even ready to be destroyed. But God hath heard our cry, and we pray him also to open the eyes of our adversaries, who were even as blind as Balaam, and were going as unlucky a way as he ; for they were posting to Rome with a pockmanty behind them ; and what was in the pockmanty, trow ye ? marry, even the Book of Common Prayer, the book of Canons, and orders of the High Commission. Now, as soon as the ass saw the angel, she falls to flinging ; and over goes the pockmanty, and it hung on one side of the ass by one string, and the bishops hang by the hamme on the other side ; so they hang across the ass, like a pair of panniers, full of Popish trash and trinkets. Fain would the blind earle have been on the saddle again, but he could not ;

may, so he might be set right again, he would be content to leave the pockmanty amongst us. But let me exhort ye, dear brethrem, do not let such a swinger ride any horse upon your Religion ; for if ye do, he will be sure, one time or other, to get the pockmanty behind him again."

In addition to this outrageous nonsense, may be quoted the peroration of a pamphlet, published by one of the same party in 1640 :—

" This (namely, the destruction of Catholicism and Episcopacy) would make the Lord of heaven and earth to say, Drop down, ye heavens, from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness : let the earth open, and let them bring forth salvation ; and let righteousness spring up together : I, the Lord, have created it."

³ It is but too glaringly observable, from " Lamont's Diary," a chronicle of familiar incidents, written about this period, that, by attempting to refine the people to a degree of purity which nature does not allow of, the clergy had only plunged them into the opposite extreme of excessive and unnatural vice. A glance at the volume will be sufficient to explain, what can here be only hinted at in this delicate manner.

According to Nichol, in his Diary, " Much falsel and cheitting was daylie deteckit at this time by the Lordis of Sessioune ; for the whilk there was daylie hanging, skurging, nailling of luggis (*ears*), and binding of pepill to the trone, and boring of tongues ; so that it was ane fatal yeir for fals notaris and witnesses, as daylie experience did witness. And as for adulterie, fornicatioun, incest, bigamie, and uther uncleannes and filthines, it did nevir abound moir nor at this tyme."

" At this tyme also," says Nichol at another place, " my Lord Lintoun was excommunicat and wardit (*imprisoned*), for taking in marriage the Lord Seytounes relict, dochter to the late Marquis of Huntly, sche being excommunicat for Poperie."

⁴ The pride and insolence to which this body had been raised by the adulation of the people, and the courtship of men of rank, is said to have been now far beyond any thing of the kind ever exhibited by bishops. " At one of their meetings," says Father Hay, " where I happened to be incognito, a gentleman who had been in the engagement came forward, and desired to be again received into the good graces of the kirk, declaring that he could hardly get lived

in the country till he did so. But the Moderator's answer was, they would not hear any such desires—they behaved to be supplicated. Such pride was never in prelates."—*Memoirs*, Adv. Lib. ii. 380.

⁵ It is curious to observe the Whig historians talking with complacent respect of this government, as one founded in the consent of the people, and therefore the best of all possible governments. It may be sufficient here to observe, that, in consequence of the proscription of all persons of a contrary way of thinking, the pretended parliament itself did not contain a fifth part of the nobility of the country. On one occasion, (May 23, 1649,) it sat down with only four lords, and fewer than twenty barons and burgesses.—*Bal-four's Annales*, iii. 407.

⁶ Lest the picture given in the text of the tyranny now exercised in Scotland by Argyle and the Church may be hardly credited in this age of scepticism, the sentiments of a friend of the Church of Scotland regarding it, may be given as a proof. Spang, the author of "*Historia Mortuum*," (resident abroad,) in a letter to his friend Baillie, thus speaks of their proceedings regarding the Engagers:—"Neither shall ye ever have sure peace without rescinding the last acts, in which you rank those whom you are pleased to call malignants into four classes. Passion has been too great in that act; for it is judged a greater sin not to protest against the engagement than to be an ordinary drunkard, since it is declared punishable with a more severe punishment. Both friends and enemies have told me that this savoured much of the Romish severity, where eating of flesh, being a transgression of men's law, is more heartily punished than notorious transgressions of God's." Speaking of the moderate clergy, whom the fanatics had deposed in great numbers, for suspected loyalty, the same author uses the following most remarkable and too truly prophetic expression. "It will be better to let your sails fall somewhat lower in time, before a storm compel you; or ye, who think God so highly glorified by casting out your brethren, and putting so many to beggary, making room by such depositions for young youths, who are oft miscarried by ignorant zeal, may be made, through your own experience, to feel what it is, which now, without pity, is executed upon others. Generally," he adds, "the great power which the commission of the Kirk exercises, displeaseth all."

At the same time, to vindicate the picture given of Ar-

gyle's government, one circumstance may be mentioned. "As to the Act of Judicial Robbery, [that is, the act for the firing of the Engagers,] it was so strictly put to execution, that Argyle's creatures, commanded by him, had their espials at public inns, private lodgings, stables, and wherever strangers did alight at their coming to Edinburgh for their affairs; and presently, albeit they had not whereon to subsist, they must be charged with horning to lend money to the public, as it was called; else present imprisonment. Now, what souldes were by this judicial robbery exacted, let any rational man judge, when none in this part of the kingdom escaped the lash."—*Hay's Memoirs, MS. Adv. Lib. ii. 378.*

The testimony of another writer of the day, and of one who was originally a Presbyterian, may be added. The following amusing passage occurs in Sir James Balfour's *Annals*, under the appellation of "*a Merry Jest*:"—

"August, 1649. The present governors of the kingdom have many excellent wayes and avenues to get money; insomuch, when the cow slacks, they have a way to press the nipples. Like Prospero Colonna's goose, they plucke the old feathers of the oppressed gentrey, burgers, and commons, that the new ones may grow the faster. In these pilfering devices, the Chancellor, (the Earl of Lowdown,) the Register, Johnston, and some of the leading ministers, and others of their accomplices, excelles.

"About the latter end of this past winter, Mr Robert Farquhar, in Aberdeine, being fallin in dialyke with the Campbells, and the present governors, for his agility in the late expedition to England, being then commissary for the north shires, was now called to ane accompte, and summoned to Edinburgh for that end. He was gratefully perplexed, fearing that if he came in their handes, without some holy recommendation, per expressum, notwithstanding the naturall dryness of his lank leane body, yet they wolde so squisse him with their screwes, so long as they coulde perceive any acomfortble juice in him, that hereafter he woulde look more like ane thunder-saine, than a living creature. But he, a subtle crafty fellow, having vexed himself a long time what course to take, to evite the racke and gins laid for him, at last bethinks himselve of one way of addresse, as the most assured of all others, which was thus:—

"The time of his compeirance at Edinburgh drawing near, (for he behoved to take journey on Monday,) he caused

his wife against Sunday night make good chiere, and sends a particular confidant of his to Mr Androw Cant, the minister of Aberdein, (one whose northerly motion had a great influence on the south, he knowing *arcana imperii*,) to invite him to supper. He refuses to come once, twice; at last Mr Robert resolves with himselfe to have him at aney rate, and forthwith goes to his house himselfe, and very earnestly in submissive and humble terms, intreats him to let him be honoured with his company at supper. The minister refuses, in respect of the coldness of the night. He still urges him to go, promising that he should find ane sure antidote for aney colde. At last, being overcome by Mr Robert's importunity, he goes home with him, (all this time it is observable how he called him no other but still Mr Robert,) and being sett by the fyre, and made verey welcome, Mr Robert goes to his closet, and brings to the hall a gounce of black velvett, lyned with mastriches, and wold have Mr Androw put it on, which, with small intreaty, he did. (Thereafter, in all his discourses, he calls him either Provost or Commissary, and not Mr Robert.) So, having supt and made a plentiful meall, and being againe set by the fyre, Mr Robert asks the minister, if he had any service to command to Edinburgh, for he was cited to appear there before the parliament to make his accounts, and therefore besought Mr Androw that he wold recommend him to some of his most confident friends, which he promised to do. At last, bed-time drawing near, Mr Androw rises to be gone, and wolde have castin off the gowne; but Mr Robert intreated him not to do so, nor wrong him that far, in respect he had brought him from his owne house in so cold and rigid a night, to partake of a homely fare, for no other end but to bestow that chamber gowne upon him, as befitting his age and gravity, wishing it had been better for his cause; but such as it was, he humbly intreated him to accept of it, as ane assurance and token of his love and affection to him; which Mr Androw did without more ceremonies. So Mr Robert did accompany him home, with his gowne on his shoulders, and at pairting, Mr Androw told him he should not do weal to go without his letters. He said he wold not. To-morrow, he got his letters, one to Argyle, ane uther to Lothian, and the third to the Register Warriston, with two more to some ministers; which made him welcome to Edinburgh, and afterwards to dance about that fyre which, as he feared, was so nigh, if not to burn him, at least to scald

him very sore. This history I had from a very confidant and intrinsic friend of Mr Robert's, who had it from his awen mouth, and told it me the 10th of September 1649."

—*Balfour's Annales*, iii. 428, *et seq.*

7 This is evident from the letter he addressed to Montrose, Sept. 19, 1659, from St Germain's. *Appendix to Wishart's Memoirs*, No. XV.

CHAP. X.—MONTROSE'S SECOND CAMPAIGN.

¹ Hume's History of England, chap. ix.

² When in France, where he spent two years, he had the offer of the appointments of General of the Scotch in France, Lieutenant-General of the French army, and Captain of the gens-d'armes, with an annual pension of 12,000 crowns, and a promise of being promoted to the rank of Mareschal, and to the Captaincy of the King's Guards; all of which preferments he declined, in the prospect of serving his own king.—*Letter of Archibald Napier*, 14th June, 1648, in possession of D. Napier.

³ These verses appear set to music, in a work entitled, "Songs for one, two, and three Voices, with some short Symphonies, collected out of the Select Poems of the incomparable Mr Cowley, and others, and composed by Henry Bowman, Philo-Musicus." 2d edition, printed at Oxford, 1679.

⁴ Balfour's Annales, iii. 440.

⁵ The answers of the Estates and Kirk to the "scandalous pamphlet of James Graham," was "solempnie proclamit and publist at the Mercat-croce of Edinburgh, (Feb. 9, 1650,) by ane macer, with the sound of many trumpettis. For the publishing thereof, ane scaffold was erectit, with ane fire thereon, set up in a chimnay, whereat the commoun hangman of Edinburgh and toun-officeris did stand in thair ordinarie apparell usit at such a business. And there, after reading of this answer of the kirk and state fullie and at length, and after sounding of four trumpittis on the Croce, the hangman threw that forsaid James Graham his declaratioun in the midst of the fyre, set thair on a scaffold, on the eist side of the croce, as worthy of newes being publist by that excommunicat traitor."—*Nichol's Diary*, MS. Adv. Lib.

⁶ Nichol's Diary, MS. Adv. Lib.

⁷ *Memoirs of the Sutherland Family*, 552.

- 8 *Memoirs of the Sutherland Family*, 552, 553.
- 9 *Balfour's Annales*, iv. 9.
- 10 *Balfour's Annales*, iv. 9.
- 11 Letter, dated July 28, 1707, from a man of the name of Robert Gordon, resident in the parish of Parton, in Galloway, whose father rode in Colonel Strachan's troop.
- 12 The rocky hill where the fighting, such as it was, chiefly took place, is called Craigoynichan, (i. e. the Rock of Lamentation,) in consequence of the slaughter.—*Statistical Account of the Parish of Kincardine*.
- 13 *Father Hay's Memoirs*, ii. 383.
- 14 *Nichol's Diary*, MS. Adv. Libr. Montrose's own men, on this occasion, were clad in buff-coats, which reached to their knees.—Letter quoted, *ut supra*.
- 15 *Sutherland Memoirs*, 555.
- 16 *Peterkin's Notes on Orkney*, Appendix.

CHAP. XI.—MONTROSE'S CAPTURE AND EXECUTION.

- Common's War of England*, 100.
- 2 *Sutherland Memoirs*, 555.
- 3 *Wishart's Memoirs*, 8vo ed. 377.
- 4 Macleod of Assynt got four hundred bolls of meal from General Lealie, in reward for his service.—(See his Indictment, Criminal Records, 1674.) He was tried at Edinburgh after the Restoration for his treachery; but the unpopularity of Montrose's son with the cavaliers, with some other circumstances, saved him from condemnation.
- 5 Letter quoted, *ut supra*.
- 6 *Nichol's Diary*, MS.
- 7 *Memorie of the Somervilles*.
- 8 *Wishart's Memoirs*, 8vo ed. 382. It ought also to be mentioned, to the honour of this ancient and distinguished burgh, that it afterwards refused the horrible honour of having a limb of Montrose stuck up at its ports.—*Father Hay's Memoirs*, ii. 388.
- 9 It might almost be said to have rather commenced at Leith; for Heath, in his "Chronicle of the Late Intestine War," relates, that he was not allowed any better conveyance between that town and the capital, than a miserable cart-horse.
- 10 *Nichol's Diary*, MS.
- 11 Sentence of Parliament, *Balfour's Annales*, iv. 12.

12 Monteith's History of the Troubles, 512.

13 Monteith, who records this circumstance.—*See Hist. of the Troubles*, 512.

14 This fact, which will hardly be credited in the present age, and which is hardly credible, I state upon the authority of a Tory pamphlet published since the Revolution.

15 Monteith, 512.

16 Wishart, 386.

17 Wishart, 386.

18 Balfour's Annales, iv. 14.

19 Wishart, 387.

20 Ravallac Redivivus, *apud* Kirkton's Church History, *note*, 123.

21 Balfour's Annales, iv. 16. Relation of the Execution of James Graham, London, 4to, 1650.—Account of the Condemnation and Execution of the Marquis of Montrose, *apud* Kirkton's Church History, *note*, 124.

22 Wishart, 389.

23 Monteith, 514.

24 Balfour's Annales, iv. 15.

25 Monteith, 514.

26 Whitelocke's Memorials.

27 Balfour's Annales, iv. 13; where it is afterwards added, that "he (Montrose) behaved all this time in the house with a great deal of courage and modesty, unmoved and undaunted, only he sighed two several times, and rolled his eyes along all the corners of the house. At the reading of his sentence he lifted up his face, without any word speaking. He looked somewhat pale, lank-faced, and hairy."—P. 16.

28 Cardinal point.

29 The Whig historians think it not beneath them to depreciate these impromptu verses; and also the still superior stanza on the death of the king; but the opinion of Voltaire may perhaps be allowed some weight in opposition to such distempered critics.—"Ce brave homme," says the philosopher of Geneva, "dit à ses juges, qu'il n'était fâché que de n'avoir pas assez de membres pour être attachés à toutes les portes des villes de l'Europe, comme des monumens de sa fidélité pour son roi. Il nuit même cette pensée en *assez beaux vers*, en allant au supplice."—*Essai sur l'Histoire Générale*.

Whatever may be the poetical merit of Montrose's com-

positions, it must be at least allowed that they are extremely characteristic of his own ardent and aspiring mind. The following little poem, which, I believe, was never before printed, is perhaps the most characteristic of all his compositions. It is copied from a Manuscript Collection of Scottish Poems and Pasquils, collected, about the end of the seventeenth century, by Dr David Gregory, Savilian Professor at Oxford, and now in the possession of John Gregory, Esq. Advocate, Edinburgh.

MONTROSE ON HIS OWN CONDITION.

I would be high, but that the cedar tree
Is blustred down whilst smaller shrubs go free.
I would be low, but that the lowly grass
Is trampled down by each unworthy ass.
For to be high, my means they will not doe;
And to be low, my mind it will not bow.
O Heavens! O Fate! when will you once agree,
To reconcile my means, my mind, and me?

30 One of these persons being asked if nothing would satisfy him but that he must torment the last hours of an unfortunate man in the way he did, answered, that he knew no other way to humble his proud spirit, and bring him to God.—*Heath's Chronicle of the late Intestine War*, folio, 263.

31 Relation of the Execution of James Graham, London, 1650.

32 Balfour's Annales, iv. 19, 20, 21, 22.

33 Montrose Redivivus, 182.

After hanging the three full hours decreed by parliament, Montrose's body was cut down, when, according to Nichol, he fell upon his face, "nane being there to countenance him but the executioner and his men. His heid, twa leggis, and twa armes," continues the diarist, "were taken fra his body with ane aix, and sent away and fixed at the places foresaid. His body cussen into ane little strait kist, and taken to the burrowmure of Edinburgh, and buryet amang malefactors."

"'Tis said that Argyle wept at the recital of his death (for he was not present at the execution) Howsoever, they were by many called crocodile tears, how worthily I leave to others' judgment. I am at least sure no such sign appeared in his son Lord Lorn, who, having neither so much tenderness of heart as to be sorry, nor so much paternal wit as to

dissemble, entertained his new-made bride with this spectacle, and mocked and laughed in the midst of that weeping assembly. He even stayed to see him hewn in pieces, and triumphed at every stroke which was bestowed upon his mangled body."—*Montrose Redivivus*.

The history of Montrose's various members is extremely curious. His head was stuck, in obedience to the decree of parliament, upon the pinnacle of what was then called the New, but latterly the Old Tolbooth of Edinburgh; and, what was certainly remarkable, it was in immediate juxtaposition with the head of his mother's brother, the Earl of Gowrie, which had been bleaching there for fifty years. Some few days after it was put up, it was found necessary to take some precautions for its security. "Because it was rumoured among the pepill, that James Graham's freindes were secretlie intending to convey his heid off the prick whereon it was set, on the Tolbuith of Edinburgh; therefore, within sex dayis after his execution, there was ane new croce prick appointit of yrne (*iron*), to croce the former prick, whilk was speedilie done, that his heid might not be removit nor taken away."—*Nichol's Diary*.

His trunk, which was buried in the place where only the most infamous criminals were executed, was afterwards "dugged up by night, and the linen in which it was wrapt stolen away."—*Montrose Redivivus*. Lady Napier, the wife of his near relation and dear friend, had contrived on this occasion, by dint of a large sum of money, to procure possession of his heart, which she enshrined in an urn, and kept by her as a mournful memorial of affection and respect. There is a portrait of her ladyship in the possession of her descendant, the present Lord Napier, where she is represented with this interesting object by her side.—*Note in Mr Sharpe's edition of Kirkton's Church History*.

Nothing can be recorded regarding the other fragments of his body, except that Charles the Second, on coming to the country two months after, was frequently shocked by the sight of these ghastly relics of his lieutenant-general and faithful servant; which, however, no more than many other personal annoyances, would his relentless governors suffer him to evade. Sir Edward Walker tells us, in his "Journal of Transactions in Scotland during the year 1650," that when his Majesty stopt for a night at Aberdeen, on his way from Speymouth (where he landed) to Edinburgh, he had the pleasure of seeing next morning from his windows, a

hand of Montrose sticking upon the front of the Tolbooth, or Town-house, which happened to be directly opposite. It was only when Scotland became subjected by a party which had little interest in the matter—that of Cromwell—that the various limbs stuck up throughout the country were permitted to be taken down.

The gallows upon which Montrose had suffered was permitted to stand in the public street for several weeks after his execution, to frighten the malignants; [*Father Hay's Memoirs*, iii. 388,] and, within that time, several of his most distinguished adherents perished beneath its fatal beam; as Sir John Hurry, Captain Spottiswood, (grandson to the Archbishop,) Sir Francis Hay of Dalgetty, Colonel Sibbald, and Captain Charteris, (a younger son of the ancient family of Amisfield in Dumfries-shire.) These gentlemen, however, were not put to death by suspension from the gallows; it was the wish of the Estates, that Montrose should be the only criminal of his time, whom history could point out as having suffered that peculiarly ignominious death. They were executed by the strange guillotine-like engine, which the Regent Earl of Morton had introduced into Scotland, and which is still remembered by the epithet of "the Maiden;" an instrument, it may be mentioned, which, during the period of the civil war, was used for the punishment of all sorts of capital offences, except witchcraft, and some others of a peculiarly infamous nature, which were punished by burning. It is related of Sir Francis Hay of Dalgetty, who was a Roman Catholic, that, on approaching this dread engine, he embraced and kissed it, with a gay allusion to its curious metaphorical name.—*Nichol's Diary*. All the rest of these unfortunate cavaliers submitted to their fate with a similar degree of cheerfulness: like their illustrious fellow-sufferer Montrose, they seemed inspired with a wish to obtain, by the scorn with which they viewed the malicious revenge of their enemies, a sort of counter-triumph over them—to carry off, by the boldness and gallantry of their carriage, the merit which their condemnators calculated upon obtaining from the crowd for their superior sanctity and patriotism. It is related of Captain Spottiswood, that, when on his knees before the axe, he used the following brief but emphatic prayer, "Oh Lord, who hath been graciously pleased to bring me through the wilderness of this world, I trust that you will now waft me over this sea of blood to thy heavenly Canaan;" on which a minister, who stood be-

side him, judged it his duty to give him this admonitory hint : " Tak tent, tak tent, sir, that ye droun not by the gate (way) !" Spottiswood, with the utmost coolness, replied, " I hope, sir, I am not an Egyptian ;" and his tormentor shrunk abashed into the crowd.—*Relation of the Funeral of Montrose.*

The dispersed fragments of Montrose's body were collected together, after the Restoration, and honoured with a grand public funeral, at the expense of King Charles the Second. It was remarked of this affair, as a thing unexampled at any former funeral, that the relations of the deceased and other mourners wore faces radiant with joy and triumph, while many of the attendant crowd viewed the procession with feelings precisely the reverse. Argyle, who was confined in Edinburgh castle at the time, in expectation of the fate he so richly merited, had his ears lacerated by the shots which proclaimed from around his dungeon, the honours done in the town below to the remains of his rival. The funeral procession, which was more splendid than any former procession had ever been in Scotland, even at the *riding* of its parliaments, or at the coronation of its kings, extended from the chapel-royal at Holyrood-house, where the fragments of the body had been collected, to the Old Church of St Giles, where it was deposited in the sepulchral aisle of the Montrose family, beside the grave of the Marquis's grandfather, who had at one time been Viceroy of Scotland.

³⁴ Wishart, 400.

³⁵ Sutherland Memoirs, 556.

³⁶ Montrose Redivivus, 185.

CHAP. XII.—CHARLES II.'S RESIDENCE IN SCOTLAND.

¹ Burton's History of the Wars in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Quarto edition, p. 180.

² Sir Edward Walker's Journal of Affairs in Scotland, 1650, p. 160.

³ Clarendon, folio, iii. 286.

⁴ Burnet's History of his own Times, i. 52.

⁵ Sir Edward Walker's Journal, 161.

⁶ Sir Edward Walker, 195.

⁷ History of his own Times, i. 53.

⁸ Dugdale's short View of the Troubles, folio, 401.

Jockey was still the slang phrase in England for Scotland and its people.

9 Ludlow's Memoirs, 125.

10 Whitelocke, 450.

11 Perfect Weekly Account, July 10 to 17.

12 Whitelocke, 451; where it is added, that all inhabitants of the country over which Cromwell passed, had carried away all their goods and household stuff, except a few oats and meal, and a little beer, hid under the coals, which the soldiers made use of.

13 Perfect Diurnal, July 22 to 29.

14 Whitelocke, 451.

15 Memoirs, MS. ii. 391.

16 Sir Edward Walker's Journal, 165.

17 Whitelocke, 451.

18 Whitelocke, 451.

19 Sev. Proc. in Parl. Aug. 1 to 8. Apud Cromwelliana, p. 87.

20 Annales, iv. 87.

21 Whitelocke, 483. This author further informs us, that Cromwell was so generous as to distribute pease and wheat to the value of two hundred and forty pounds among the starving inhabitants of Dunbar. This author also gives a fact, which may well strike a Scotsman of the present day with surprise. "The women of Dunbar," he says, "are so sluttish, that they do not wash their linen above once a-month, nor their hands and faces above once a-twelvemonth!" Nothing, perhaps, could attest in a livelier manner to the senses of a stranger, the difference between Scotland in 1650 and Scotland in 1828, than the strong contrast between this shocking picture of a former generation of the ladies of Dunbar, and what he would see if he were to visit this interesting and thriving old burgh at the present day.

22 True Relation of the Transactions of the Army in Scotland, published by authority. London, 1650.

23 Somerville, in his "Memorie of the Somervilles."

24 Burnet's Own Times, i. 54.

25 Whitelocke, 455.

26 Ibid. 456.

27 Letter from himself to Lenthall, the speaker, dated from Dunbar, the day after the battle—*apud* "Cromwelliana," p. 89.

28 Burnet's Own Times, i. 54.

29 A small mound, called *Cromwell's Mount*, is shown about fifty yards to the west of Broxmouth House, as the place where he stood when surveying the descent of the Scots from Doon Hill.

30 Burnet, i. 54.

31 Cromwell's Letter to Lenthall.

32 Stapleton's Letter, descriptive of the battle of Worcester.—*Cromwelliana*.

33 Whitelocke, 455.

34 Burnet's Own Times, i. 55.

35 Psalm lxxviii. 1.

36 "The day before we fought, they did express so much insolency and contempt of us to some soldiers they took, as was beyond apprehension."—*Letter of Cromwell to the Lord President of the Council of State, Cromwelliana*, 91. Whitelocke adds, that it was the ministers who chiefly taunted the English prisoners.

37 This gentleman seems to have been killed at Broxmouth, as a stone is still shown in the shrubbery around that house, bearing his name in very legible letters, and said to mark his grave.

38 The following letter, written to his wife, although it contains no historical information, is worthy of being printed, as some of its expressions are extremely characteristic of the writer. It is copied from the manuscript collections in the British Museum :—

"Dunbar, 4th September, 1650.

"My Dearest,

"I have not leasure to write much, but I could chide thee, that in many of thy letters thou writest to me, that I should not be unmindful of thee and my little ones. Truly, if I love you not too well, I think I err not on the other hand much. Thou art dearer to me than any creature; let that suffice. The Lord hath showed us an exceeding mercy. Who can tell how great it is? My weak faith hath been upheld. I have been in my inward man miraculously supported. I assure thee I grow an old man, and feel infirmities of age marvellously stealing upon me. Would my corruptions did as fast decrease. Pray on my behalf in the latter respect. The particulars of our late success, Henry Vane or Gil Pickering will impart to thee. My love to all our dear friends.

"Thine,

"O. CROMWELL."

CHAP. XIII.—CONCLUSION.

See Peck's Memoirs of Cromwell, 4to, 1733.

Sir Edward Walker's Journal, 182, 183.

Sir Edward Walker.

See "A Word of Advertisement and Advice to the
Godly in Scotland," 4to. Edinburgh, 1651.

Whitelocke, 512.

THE END.

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